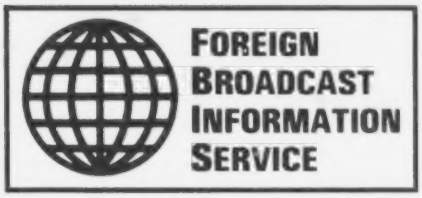

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Soviets Submit New Arms Proposals at Geneva
LD2210141888 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Geneva October 22 TASS - During the past week, the delegation of the USSR at the ongoing round of the Soviet-American talks here on nuclear and space arms tabled new specific proposals on the question of procedures for the conversion of heavy bombers.

The Soviet formulations concern both conversion procedures proper and control over heavy bombers of respective categories and their armament, and open up the possibility of solving on a mutually acceptable basis one of important aspects of the problem of limitations on long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers.

Within the framework of the group on strategic offensive arms the two sides continued the consideration of formulations tabled by the two sides for inclusion in documents which are being drafted and which concern limitations on and control over mobile launchers of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The group on space arms last week considered mainly questions connected with the preparation of a joint draft text of a protocol to the future agreement on compliance with and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty within an agreed period. The Soviet side again emphasized that confidence-building and verification measures which are to be included in the protocol are designed to ensure the confidence of the sides in the observance of the above-mentioned agreement as well as the obligations under the ABM Treaty. In this connection the delegation of the USSR critically discussed the proposals which had been set out by the U.S. delegation recently and which are virtually aimed at legalizing anti-missile defence work which is banned by the ABM Treaty.

The USSR delegation again declared in all definiteness for drawing up a joint draft agreement on matters concerning the ABM Treaty on the basis of and in strict accordance with the known U.S. formula recorded in the joint Soviet-American statement of December 10, 1987, and subsequently confirmed at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow.

Shevardnadze on Foreign Policy Prospects

AU2310125088 Hamburg DIE WELT ("WELT Report" Supplement) in German 21 Oct 88 p 1

["Excerpts from a previously unpublished speech on foreign policy prospects" by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze "during a conference of top-level diplomats at the USSR Foreign Ministry after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference at the end of June": "Pillorying Dogmatism and Uniform Thinking"]

[Text] Restructuring makes Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy face tasks which cannot be mastered without an intellectual breakthrough and the discovery and concentration of the best forces available. The trail-blazing concept of socialism, which was presented at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, puts an end to the claim of sole representation, which has cemented uniform thinking, dogmatism, and the feeling of infallibility. What do we have to counter this claim? Democracy, glasnost, and a renunciation of excessive secrecy. In particular the democratization in adopting important foreign policy decisions, for instance public hearings on international problems in the Supreme Soviet.

The personality cult, subjectivism, voluntarism, lack of glasnost, deformation of socialist ideals and principles, lack of democratic culture, and remnants of elitist thinking have created a "zone of silence" around the country's diplomacy. The caste spirit of some diplomatic fellow-workers, the mania for protection and excessive secrecy, the lack of information on internal developments, and an invented infallibility have to a certain degree alienated the people from foreign policy and foreign policy from the people during the time of stagnation. Soviet diplomacy has to explain its tasks to the people, to shape its work in harmony with their hopes, and to make an account to them for its activities.

Foreign policy has been pursued on behalf of the people. However, has it always been pursued in accordance with their welfare? At the beginning of the 1980's, the habit of "slamming the door shut," which became rampant in the 1950's, gave rise to this stereotypical behavior, which made us walk out of the Geneva talks and thus only accelerated and facilitated the establishment of the second strategic front against us in Europe.

The decision of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the shaping of the constitutionally approved mechanism to discuss and adopt the most important foreign policy decisions has been achieved by our people through pain—because of the deplorable experiences in Afghanistan, the lowering of the standard of living, and the impairment of socialist ideals. An unfavorable phenomenon of the time of stagnation, which has had a negative effect on our international attitude, was the occasional divergence between the military and the political sphere of work. Defense has top priority in our state. Under no circumstances will we permit the other side to attain military superiority over us. The conclusion of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, according to which the danger of war has been reduced, in no way contradicts the conclusion that the danger of war has not been eliminated. It is all the more necessary that we find out clearly what the greatest danger to our country is. Since the real danger develops, above all, through the use of nuclear weapons, the logical consequence is that we have to achieve the total elimination of these nuclear weapons.

The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the establishment of the constitutionally approved mechanism necessarily gives rise to a method whereby all authorities that are specialized in military activities and military industry are controlled by the supreme organs elected by all the people. Any incautious military measure could cost the country dearly because of acute distrust and suspicion, and could pose an excessive burden on the economy. The restriction of the military activities of all states to the territories within their national borders is in both the general and our own interest. We have expressed our belief in this attitude and are implementing it. Bringing home the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Mongolia demonstrates this most eloquently. We pursue the same purpose with our proposal to eliminate the military bases on the territory of other states and to disband the opposing military-political alliances.

The INF Treaty and its incipient implementation is in the interest of the Soviet Union as well as Europe, the United States, and all other states. We consider it the greatest contribution to consolidating our country's security because it has been possible not only to remove the U.S. nuclear forces from our borders, but also to totally eliminate the opportunities for deployment of these categories of missiles. We must, however, not forget that the second strategic front against us in Europe has not been established without our help. It could have been prevented if we had correctly assessed our national interests. Over the past 15 years "the chemical bulwark" has required enormous sums of money and diverted production facilities, labor, and resources. Eliminating the chemical arsenals again requires expenditures. What impression have we made with the accumulation of weapons, which we ourselves have called barbarian? Of no less importance to national security are the economic price of political decisions and the profitability of foreign policy. We still have to study whether we have done everything to avert a confrontation with China.

It is certainly possible that the West has deliberately led the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe to a stalemate. However, we have played into its hands because our negotiations have not been flexible enough—14 years of idling negotiations not only mean missed opportunities, but a discrediting of the principle of negotiations. We could have avoided these strains if the interests of national security had been determined by more than some state organs, including the Foreign Ministry— which were, in addition, protected from criticism.

The administrative methods of command have caused considerable impairments in the cultural field. International dealings are a natural requirement. We have restricted them and thus preprogrammed our lagging behind. The interaction of representatives of the intelligentsia with the foreign public can be expanded through a reliable system of informal contacts between cultural workers.

The economic aspect of international relations is now being put into the foreground. Here we have to reconsider our behavior to a certain degree. It has become clear that we made shortsighted decisions in the past. An example of this is, among others, the refusal to participate in international economic organizations. A radical change has been in the offing for some time. However, we must not stop with the things achieved so far. The most important conclusion of the party conference on the irreversibility of restructuring also applies to Soviet diplomats.

Head of UN European Commission Visits Moscow

Talks With Shevardnadze

LD2110171088 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Gerald Hinteregger who is on a working visit here.

They held an exchange of opinions on the commission's place and role in new conditions that emerged in the region in connection with the process of real disarmament which has been started, the easing of tension and a new approach of peoples of European countries to international relations for the sake of peace on earth. It was pointed to a concrete positive contribution of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe to the consolidation and widening of mutually advantageous European economic cooperation which is a substantial factor of ensuring stable development and consolidating security of countries of the region, one of the important instruments of the construction of a common European home. It was emphasized that the commission's practical activity is in keeping with the new tasks of the solution of international problems of development, specifically such vitally important problems as environmental protection. It was pointed to the initiatives of socialist countries advanced at a recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries for the working out of a concept of international economic security, the idea substantiated in a report of the Brundtland Commission, on interrelationship of the environment and a stable development, the Soviet Union's proposal at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly for a three-event series of emergency meetings to coordinate efforts in the field of ecological security.

It was noted that the efforts of European countries on a bilateral and multilateral basis, in the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, supplement each other in the development of a European process. A hope was expressed that a successful conclusion in the near future of the Vienna meeting of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will give a fresh impetus to the activity of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, will create the conditions for its further intensification.

Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized that the Soviet Union will continue contributing consistently to the development of useful activity of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

Comments on East-West Cooperation

LD2110171888 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—We are witnessing very important processes at work on the European Continent, opening up prospects for a closer East-West business cooperation, Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), said today. He is on a working visit in Moscow from October 18.

Addressing a press conference in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre for Soviet and foreign newsmen, he identified among these processes first and foremost the restructuring in the USSR and the economic reforms in other socialist countries. There is an active process of integration within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as well as within the European Economic Community. Gerald Hinteregger described the establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the EEC as a major event for the whole of Europe.

It is important to all of us, Gerald Hinteregger said, that international cooperation not be hampered by obstacles. A broad forum is needed to solve jointly, for instance, questions having to do with the general rules for trade, standards and tariffs. In this area, the Economic Commission for Europe is still the only such forum on the continent. The commission has already implemented several projects to contribute to developing East-West business cooperation.

He reminded newsmen, among other things, about the forecast of the economic development of the European countries up to the year 2000, prepared by ECE experts. Another document produced was on the specific features of setting up joint ventures between organizations and firms of the countries of the East and the West. At

present the commission has embarked on working out the practical guide for Western businessmen wishing to cooperate with foreign partners on the joint venture basis. The business communities of the West must understand the processes under way in the USSR and other socialist countries, Gerald Hinteregger said. That is why we are planning to analyse within the commission the principal aspects of restructuring in the USSR and East European countries.

The ECE spokesman emphasised the promise of East-West cooperation not only in trade but also in the field of science, technology, energy and transportation. In his opinion, concerted efforts to tackle ecological problems deserve special attention, because these problems are of equal concern to the peoples of the entire continent.

He reported with special satisfaction that for the first time the ECE executive secretary was received by Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and foreign minister of the USSR.

Meets CEMA Official

LD2010215288 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Deputy Secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Marin Marinov and Executive Secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) Gerald Hinteregger held a meeting at the CMEA Secretariat headquarters here today.

They exchanged information on the activity of the two organisations and discussed issues of the further development of their cooperation.

French Propose Reinforcing Geneva Protocol

Soviet Support for Protocol Outlined

LD2110210188 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The French proposal for holding a special conference on reinforcing the 1925 Geneva protocol banning chemical and germ weapons in January next year, made at the U.N. General Assembly Session on Thursday, corresponds to mankind's aspirations to eliminate this type of weapons of mass annihilation.

It has been noted in the Soviet diplomatic circles that the USSR has always paid attention to perfecting the Geneva protocol and consistently favoured increasing the number of its participants, elaborating rules and procedures hindering violations of that document and enhancing intolerence to the use of chemical weapons by other states.

The Soviet side appointed experts to investigate with the use of corresponding technical means instances of the application of chemical weapons.

Seeking to speed up the process of elaborating and signing an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, the Soviet Union has undertaken a number of specific steps.

The USSR has ceased the production of chemical weapons and announced that it has none outside its boundaries and has no stockpiles on its territory that belong to other parties.

It has never transferred to nor received from other nations either chemical weapons, or the technology and equipment for their production.

In October 1987, representatives of the international community visited for the first time a military facility in Shikhany where they were shown all standard specimens of Soviet Army chemical munitions.

They received detailed information on all toxic agents used in the munitions and familiarised themselves with the technology for destroying toxic warfare agents using a mobile complex.

Late last year the USSR undertook an unprecedented step in world practice—it publicly disclosed the size of its chemical weapons stockpiles, which do not exceed 50,000 tons.

At present, the USSR is building a special installation for the destruction of chemical weapons. The world public will be familiarised with it upon the completion of its construction.

UN Delegates Support Ban

LD2210052788 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

As depository of the Geneva protocol of 1925, France invited all states parties and the other interested states to take part in an ad hoc conference to be held in Paris from 7 to 11 January next year. "The first aim of the conference," Pierre Morel, the delegate of France said on Thursday [20 October] in the first committee of the General Assembly, "is of course the solemn confirmation by all parties of their full adherence to the Geneva protocol", which bans the use of chemical weapons.

At the same time, he said, "the reaffirmation of the commitment subscribed must go together with the recognition of the urgent character, as a priority, of the negotiation under way in Geneva within the conference on disarmament, of a full ban convention. [no closing quotation marks as received] In the opinion of Paris, far

from conflicting, both political actions must and can support each other. Pierre Morel expressed the hope that the conference "will give the indispensable political momentum in order to bring to its end the negotiation of a universal, credible and durable convention".

The French proposal was in consonance with the opinion of most delegates to the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly who pointed out the clear possibility of an early conclusion of a universal and verifiable convention on a complete ban and liquidation of chemical weapons.

In the opinion of B.A. Kravets, the Ukrainian foreign minister, the international community is on the threshold of yet another breakthrough in the field of disarmament—in the field of chemical weapons. The Geneva conference on disarmament has done a big job in preparing the text of a convention on a complete and universal ban and destruction of chemical weapons. The United Nations General Assembly must state unambiguously that the barbarous chemical weapons should never be used and that it is necessary to liquidate them, said Australia's representative Richard Butler. The need for resolute efforts to complete the multilateral talks on banning chemical weapons was mentioned by the delegates of Greece, the GDR, Poland, Bulgaria, the PRC, Italy and many other countries who spoke at the session.

Cooperation in Space Urged at UN Committee
LD2210152288 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 22 TASS—At the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly the Soviet Union reaffirmed the readiness to exchange with other states its accomplishments in space exploration, to promote expansion of international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space.

This is exactly the aim of the proposal that Soviet carrier rockets be used to launch peaceful space vehicles of foreign states and international organizations. This was stated at the General Assembly's special political committee by USSR representative S.N. Smirnov. The question of further perfection of organizational forms of cooperation in outer space is, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, topical, he said. This is the aim of the proposal for institution of a world space organization as the main coordinator, a kind of chief conductor of cooperation. Such an organization could pool the most different forms of international cooperation in exploration and use of outer space, draw to that sphere new sources of material and manpower resources and ensure control over observance of the accords that guarantee the peaceful character of man's activities in outer space. It would be a new chapter in the history of inter-state relations, a new influential factor of international life.

The participants in the session showed profound interest in the USSR's proposal that the world space organization structure should include a centre for international cooperation in peaceful exploration and use of outer space, which could be formed on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar. In the opinion of Czechoslovakia's representative Stanislav Suja, such a centre could, on the one hand, become the cornerstone of the world space organization, and, on the other hand, that would dispel "apprehensions" being voiced in the West, concerning the Krasnoyarsk radar.

Delegates of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Greece (on behalf of EEC countries), Indonesia declared for the U.N. General Assembly's proclamation of 1992 as an international year of outer space.

Article Views 'Bias' of Amnesty International
PM2110153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p7

[Article by A. Lyutyy under the rubric "International Notes": "Is 'Amnesty' To Be Believed?"]

[Text] The London headquarters of the nongovernment organization Amnesty International recently published a report on the observance of human rights worldwide in 1987. As is traditional, the Western press devoted a great deal of attention to the Soviet section of the report. Commentators noted the section's calmer, more balanced tone. "Amnesty International," REUTER wrote, "praises the changes in the Soviet Union which have led to the release of several prisoners of conscience, a reduction in the number of politically motivated arrests, and the beginning of a discussion on human rights problems which were previously considered taboo."

The West sometimes invests the concepts "prisoner of conscience" and "politically motivated arrest" with the kind of meaning that suits the West alone. However, we do not intend to discuss this. We are going to talk about something else. The change in tone of the Soviet section of the report is unusual, you must agree. After all, if we have conducted any dialogue with Amnesty in recent years via the press, the language has been exclusively one of accusations and counteraccusations. Perhaps it would be worth talking more calmly about this organization?

I recently had occasion to visit the four-story, sooty brown brick building on London's Easton Street, where its headquarters is located. There, behind the massive doors fitted with a complex electronic alarm system—attacks on Amnesty buildings abroad are no rare occurrence—we had a conversation with Ian Martin, secretary general of the organization, Ann Berly, head of the European research department, and press spokesman Sean Staylz. My interlocutors tried to convince me that their organization, established in 1961 and with

branches in many countries throughout the world, sincerely tries to improve the human rights situation worldwide, tries to be objective, and crushes all attempts to use it as a political weapon in the hands of any government.

For the sake of objectivity I must point out that Amnesty quite regularly and consistently raises the problem of the massive scale on which human rights are flouted by Central and Latin American regimes. In its latest report, countries such as El Salvador, Paraguay, and Honduras are condemned for the fact that "death squads" are still wreaking havoc there. It lists many incidents in which South African police have killed blacks living in the RSA. It expresses concern that British troops and the police in Northern Ireland arrest people in Ulster and imprison them on the basis of "antiterrorist" legislation. The United States is criticized for using the death penalty, including against minors. In this respect the organization sounds the alarm that in a whole series of cases "there is evidence of racial discrimination when such sentences are passed."

Amnesty advocates a retrial for American Indian leader Leonard Peltier, and it repeatedly criticizes U.S. Government actions toward Americans sheltering Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees on U.S. territory. In recent months a series of major charity rock concerts have been held under the auspices of the organization, involving stars such as Sting, from Britain, and the American Bruce Springsteen. It is believed that the moves at last being made by U.S. Congress toward ratifying—after 40 years' delay—the international convention on the prevention of genocide and the punishment of this crime were prompted not least by Amnesty's actions.

It is hard, however, to shake off the impression that Amnesty has always been, to put it mildly, far more ready to find fault with the Soviet Union than with Western states. It is no accident that the report for 1986 contained the following phrase: "The organization is often the object of attack. People accuse Amnesty's work of being provocative and political in nature." Perhaps there is something in these accusations? After all, despite all the assurances from the organization's leaders that it is an independent body and uses only private funds and donations, articles have often appeared in the press on its connections with quite specific Western services.

It is impossible to believe that Amnesty is totally without bias. Here is a fragment from my conversation with Ann Berly:

"What is the source of your information on the USSR?"

"We obtain our information from various sources. We accept it from anyone who wishes to give it. Our task is to analyze and verify this information."

"Must you not admit that both the suppliers and the analyzers of this information could be anti-Soviet and unobjective?" "There is always that possibility. Any of our experts could be inclined either against or in favor of the Soviet Union."

In reality, however, one is more likely to encounter the opinion of "experts" disposed against the USSR in Amnesty documents.

The leaders of Amnesty speak in favor of contacts with Soviet legal experts and certain forms of dialogue. It goes without saying that the question of whether such contacts are possible must be decided by our lawyers themselves. I personally would just like to remind my recent interlocutors of the Soviet proposal to hold a forum in Moscow on human rights problems and humanitarian issues. Such a forum, I feel, could be attended not only by official government representatives but also by experts from nongovernment organizations to discuss a whole range of legal and humanitarian problems. We have considerable experience ourselves that it would not hurt the West to hear.

The USSR is willing for broad discussion and cooperation in the legal sphere. But only on the condition that the other side respects our social choice and our laws and abandons its diktat and double standards.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Khmer Rouge 'Main Obstacle' to Cambodian Peace

BK2310094788 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] In every report relating to Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge issue is always mentioned. What is the significance of this issue, and why do people keep talking about it?

Our observer, Comrade Alekseyev, writes the following:

First of all, let me recall the Khmer Rouge's history. Khmer Rouge is the name given to the Pol Pot group which ruled Cambodia for 44 months during which over 3 million Cambodians lost their lives in concentration camps. This is a disgusting achievement of the genocidal regime leaders. Their aim is to liberate Cambodia from the so-called aristocrats. This is not an ordinary page in history.

Expelled from Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge sought refuge abroad. Up to now, their leaders have not yet abandoned the idea of returning to power in Cambodia. If they could return to power in Cambodia as they wish, how much more suffering would the Cambodian people have to bear? The demand to prevent the resurrection of the Khmer Rouge regime is reflected in the PRK's principled stand and that of Cambodia's friends and allies. The majority of the people in the international community are currently supporting this view.

I want to refer first of all to the ASEAN countries. During the meeting of opposing Cambodian parties in Bogor in July, it was agreed that having people to ensure that the Khmer Rouge do not return to power in Cambodia is a major condition in solving the Cambodian problem. This attitude is also defended by Washington. At a recent meeting with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, U.S. President Ronald Reagan opposed the resurrection of the Khmer Rouge regime, and was also in favor of ending military assistance to the Pol Pot group. Ending military assistance to the Khmer Rouge currently shows that this group's leaders insist on expressing a negative attitude to the talks among Cambodian parties on solving the Cambodian problem with national reconciliation [sentence as heard]. It is enough to recall that Khmer Rouge representatives did not attend the meeting in Jakarta. The Khmer Rouge, who want to return to power in Cambodia, are the main obstacle to restoring peace in Cambodia, a peace which is needed by those who want to have security for the Cambodian people and by those who have been making efforts to normalize the situation in Southeast Asia and the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Dissolution of Vietnamese Democratic Party

LD2210192888 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Hanoi October 22 TASS—At the congress of the Vietnam Democratic Party (VDP) which ended on October 20 it was announced that the party discontinues its activities.

A report to this effect issued today points out that over the 44-years-long existence of the VDP which brought together representatives of the patriotically minded intellectuals of the country, it has made a tangible contribution to the cause of strengthening Vietnam's national unity and developing culture, science and education.

The decision to dissolve the VDP was prompted by the fact that in the period of the current transitional stage to socialism and large-scale development of the process of renewal in all spheres of the country's social life, the VDP can no longer effectively perform its functions. In view of the decision taken in the middle of the 1970s to stop admitting new members, the party's membership has been continuously dwindling.

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, made a speech at the VDP Congress, giving a high appraisal of the VDP activities throughout the period of its existence, and pointing out the great services of the VDP members who consistently came out in favour of strengthening the unity of the Vietnamese people and developing the country's economy and culture.

Having expressed confidence that the VDP members will continue to participate most intensively in the activities of the fatherland front of the republic and to make maximum efforts to ensure onward development of society, he stated the readiness of the Communist Party of Vietnam to admit former VDP members to CPV membership.

Soviet-Vietnamese Trade Problems Viewed

PM1310105388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by M. Kalmykov: "Emotions and Calculation; Barriers on the Path of Soviet-Vietnamese Cooperation"]

[Text] Hanoi-Moscow—..."Well, let's tour the shops and you can see how we work," director Chyung Chong Toan [name as published] suggested.

We got up, but almost immediately the blades of the large ceiling fan slowed down and stopped. The director shrugged: another unplanned cut in the electricity supply. This happens no more frequently and no more rarely at the "Tkhyungdin" [name as published] footwear factory than at other Hanoi enterprises, taking away considerable working time. As yet there are difficulties over electricity in the country. "It would seem we could have become accustomed to it long ago," the director says, "but we are totally reluctant to come to terms with the fact that the enormous factory is standing idle... For the time being I can only take you to the finished output depot."

Trainers of every possible hue, light summer footwear, and children's footwear—all this, even if it is inferior in quality to so-called "brand name footwear," is so only by a very little. "We send these items to Hanoi stores trading in hard currency," Chyung Chong Toan explained. "And here is what we send to the Soviet Union."

Tennis shoes are a good thing, of course. And semifinished products—the semifinished uppers for footwear—are probably also necessary for our footwear industry. But it is a very great pity that modern sports footwear like those trainers does not find its way to Soviet stores. Yet, in my view, this output would be in considerable demand among our customers.

Unfortunately, the director says, this question has so far not been raised. Although in the past 2 years steps have been taken to develop the two countries' cooperation in light industry. Far from everything in this field has proved as easy as seemed initially. But do not hasten to complain to the Vietnamese side. Let's take a look at ourselves.

First, deliveries of Soviet sewing machines from the Podolsk machine building plant have been disrupted. Instead of the 1,391 machines stipulated by the agreement, only 771 were sent to Vietnam last year. Matters are no better this year.

Second, the equipment which the "Soyuzlegpromvneshnekooperatsiya" association should deliver for the Vietnamese footwear enterprises is arriving, but without the necessary attachments.

Third, it was proposed that raw and semifinished materials would be shipped to the SRV in containers packed according to the "full cycle" principle. That is, they should contain everything necessary (textiles, leather, fittings, thread, and packaging materials) to perform a specific volume of work. But the containers—the Vietnamese partners draw attention to this—arrived incompletely packed: Now one thing, now another was missing.

And, fourth and finally, the extreme decentralization of the placing of orders at several factories for small consignments of 150,000-200,000 articles, making orders disadvantageous, is having an effect.

Matters are a little better this year. The steps which have been taken have somewhat improved the delivery situation but have not eliminated the problems. The irregularity remains. For this reason the modernization and retooling of a number of Vietnamese light industry enterprises which are to produce output for Soviet orders is being performed at an unsatisfactory pace. We can already say that the 2-year agreement will remain unfulfilled.

Why? In the opinion of Soviet specialists working in the SRV the main thing is the unpreparedness and imperfection of this document. How many times have we written about unjustified haste when particular departments rush to report new forms of work, but the subjective desire to make out that what is desired in reality still makes itself felt. In this case the agreement on the development of cooperation on the basis of materials supplied by the customer was signed on the basis of emotions rather than precise calculation. As a result both partners have been unprepared for the new matter although the new form of cooperation has probably been "ticked off" in some report or other. An idea which is not bad in itself has proved discredited. Yet the fact that it is entirely viable and could benefit both sides is proved if only by the experience of Vietnam's successful cooperation in the same sphere with Hungary, the GDR, and the CSSR.

Life itself prompts the idea that under present conditions the optimum form of foreign economic cooperation consists in bilateral ties between Soviet and Vietnamese enterprises. And there are examples of this. Good ties have been established between the Leningrad "Skorokhod" association and the "Anlak" [name as transliterated] footwear enterprise in Ho Chi Minh. Soviet footwear workers have leased complete production lines to their Vietnamese colleagues until the amortization costs have been met in full. Our specialists sent on noncurrency exchange set up the production lines and commission them, providing initial assistance in mastering the manufacturing process.

About another 10 Soviet enterprises are now preparing to transfer to direct ties with their Vietnamese counterparts. But this process could be accelerated by granting them in practice the rights envisaged by the Law on the State Enterprise. Incidentally, this is a mutual problem.

Cooperation between our countries in the field of light industry is taking only its first steps. In the search for optimistic reports it is probably not worth forcing it rashly and artificially, setting tasks we know cannot be fulfilled. Its further intensification should be preceded by serious work to study the real state of affairs, both partners' potential, the existing experience of other socialist countries, and our own mistakes.

Near East & South Asia

Islamic Conference Opens in Kabul 22 October

Najibullah Makes Opening Address

LD2210200288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The situation remains tense in a number of provinces in Afghanistan. The Republic's Armed Forces are repelling attempts by the counterrevolution to gain

control of certain regions. Over the past week, for example, army units have made tangible strikes against the extremists in Qandahar, Konduz, Paktia, and Herat Provinces.

It is no accident that in Kabul, itself a town tired of war, an international conference opened today, entitled "Muslims in the Struggle for Universal Peace and Security and for the Survival of Mankind."

[Kabul correspondent M. Leshchinskiy] The conference opened on a day that is sacred for all Muslims, the day of the birth and death of the prophet Muhammad. [passage omitted] In the post-revolution years, the authorities' attitude toward religion took different forms. There were bitter lessons relating to the party's underestimation of the role and significance of the Muslim clergy in the life of Afghans. This was and is being used widely by the armed opposition. Now the state authorities are doing a great deal to restore faith and to win the support of religious circles, which command unquestioned authority in the country.

These efforts are being taken at their true value in the Islamic world, as well. This also is borne out by the convening in Kabul of the representative Muslim meetings. Clergymen and theologians from 15 countries of the world agreed to take part in it. They were brought together by the motto "Muslims in the Struggle for Universal Peace and Security and for the Survival of Mankind."

After general prayers and the reading of verses from the Koran, Afghan President Najibullah addressed those taking part in the conference. In his introduction, he touched on many problems, both those common to all Muslims as well as specific Afghan problems and the continuation of war on this ancient land. The president put forward a new peace initiative.

He proposed to the opposing forces that they sit down at the negotiating table. The talks could take place in Afghanistan or in any country in the world. With the agreement of the Government of Saudi Arabia, Najibullah stated, the talks could be held even in Mecca, the sacred place of Islam.

In their speeches the participants in the conference expressed their general anxiety over the continuation of conflicts in which Muslim peoples are involved. They unanimously condemned the international and other forces that are promoting the escalation of these conflicts. [Video shows Najibullah and others addressing meeting]

Comments on Islamic Ministry

LD2210160188 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 22 TASS—Prominent religious figures of 25 countries, including Indonesia, India, Iraq, Libya, the United States, the Soviet Union, Poland, Portugal, Japan and others, are taking part in an international Islamic conference that opened in the Afghan capital today.

The conference is being held under the motto "Moslems in the Struggle for Universal Peace and Security, for the Survival of Mankind".

Afghan President Najibullah spoke at the opening ceremony.

"Afghanistan is a country with a predominantly Moslem population," he said.

"After the victory of the April revolution, religious problems were given much attention.

"For the first time in the history of the state, a Ministry of Islamic Affairs was set up. It is in charge of the construction and repair of mosques and material assistance for the clergy," the president went on. He said that 324 mosques had been built and 1,257 repaired over the years since the revolution.

About 5,000 religious figures participated in the work of councils of ulemas and the clergy—non-governmental organisations at various levels. An Islamic university was opened in Kabul.

"The enemies of our people show quite a different approach to the observance of Islamic rules," Najibullah said.

"Over the war years, they have destroyed 334 mosques, 1,870 schools, 35 hospitals, and killed 2,000 clergymen.

"Aware of the need to stop the bloodshed, many representatives of the clergy make great contributions to the restoration of peace in the country. Early in 1986, a policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed in Afghanistan at the initiative of clergymen.

"The new policy enabled more than 150,000 refugees to return home and 60,000 members of armed groups to give up fighting.

"In November 1987 a loya jirga was held. It adopted a constitution and elected the country's president.

"The fundamental law of Afghanistan guarantees an Islamic, non-aligned, neutral nature of the state," Najibullah said.

"Our foreign policies are aimed at settling international and national conflicts through dialogue and talks. Afghanistan supports the struggle of nations for national and social emancipation.

"Proceeding from these principles, we signed the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and around it.

"Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are fulfilling all their obligations. However, Pakistan and the United States are stepping up their interference in defiance of the spirit and letter of Geneva.

"Innocent people die in rocket attacks, civil airplanes are destroyed by U.S. Stinger missiles," the president said.

In conclusion, he reiterated Afghanistan's readiness for talks with the opposition in the country and the forces in the Islamic world that support it.

Najibullah expressed confidence that peace would be ensured on Afghan soil. He wished the participants in the international conference success in their humane activities.

Conference To Discuss Palestinian Problem
LD2410081888 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 24 TASS—An international conference of solidarity with the Palestinian people opened here today. It is being attended by 40 delegations from more than 20 countries.

Participants in the conference will discuss the situation in Israeli-occupied Arab lands swept by a popular uprising against Zionist invaders, as well as the atrocities committed by the Israeli military against civilian population. Special emphasis is laid on the study of ways and methods of the solution in the present-day conditions of the Palestinian problem which is of crucial importance for the settlement of the Middle East crisis.

President Najibullah of Afghanistan addressed participants in the conference. The forum in support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine will end its work today.

Bomb Injures 5 in Kabul 23 October
LD2310114488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1102 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul, 23 Oct (TASS)—This morning extremists from the so-called "irreconciliable opposition" carried out a new act of subversion on the streets of the Afgan capital. The criminals exploded TNT near a theater and numerous taverns which are usually frequented by many people. The explosive device had been placed in a sewer.

As a result of the explosion five passers-by were hurt but no one was killed. The relevant bodies are investigating this terrorist act.

Shevardnardze Receives Indian Envoy 22 Oct
LD2210191988 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee, today received India's Ambassador to the USSR Triloki Nath Kaul at his request.

The sides discussed some topical international problems, including consolidation of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

In this context, the sides confirmed their mutual desire to make every effort to relax tensions, bring down the level of military confrontation, and eliminate conflict situations.

They also discussed some aspects of Soviet-Indian relations in the light of the forthcoming visit to India by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Junblatt Cited on Lebanese Situation
LD2110221388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] As before, the situation in Lebanon remains tense. Here's what our correspondent on the countries of the Near East, Igor Rostovtsev has to report:

[Begin recording] [Rostovtsev] A particularly tense situation has been developing lately in southern Lebanon. One of the fighters of the Hizballah party has committed suicide, driving a car packed with explosives into an Isreali military convoy. As a result, seven Israeli soldiers were killed and eight injured. Armed clashes between fighters from the Shi'ite Amal Movement and armed Palestinians have renewed. These are of a particularly sustained nature in the region of the 'Ayn al-Hulwah and Al- Miyah wa Miyah Palestinian refugee camps, to the east of the southern Lebanese city of Sidon. A meeting is in progress in Damascus between leaders of several Lebanese and Palestinian organizations. A state of united command has been declared in order to put an end, through joint efforts, to the plots being devised by the forces of Israel's internal reaction against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

I have intervewed one of those taking part in the meeting, Walid Junblatt, chairman of Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party.

[Junblatt in Arabic with superimposed Rostovtsev translation into Russian] The situation remains extremely dangerous and tense. At present Lebanon is practically dismembered and, if this continues, the country could turn into several community-tribal states. It is believed that the lack of national unity in Lebanon represents a

threat to the peoples of the whole of the Near East region. This corresponds only to the interests of Zionist Israel, which has long been advocating the idea of dismembering the Near East. We do not have the right to permit this, and we are obliged to make every effort to attain national unity in Lebanon and to strengthen its sovereignty and territorial integrity [end recording]

East Europe

Further on Visit by Polish Premier Rakowski

Press Reports Moscow Arrival

PM2210142188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow 20 October on a friendly working visit.

He was met at the aircraft steps at Vnukovo Airport by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Departmnent; A.I. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland; and other officials participated in the welcoming ceremony.

The welcoming party included Polish Ambassador to the USSR W. Natorf.

The Polish and Soviet state flags were flying at the airport.

Ryzhkov Luncheon Speech

PM2210160988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

["In the Interest of Strengthening Socialism"—PRAVDA headline; speech by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, presented at a 21 October Kremlin luncheon given in his honor]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct—A luncheon was given in the Kremlin today on behalf of the USSR Government in honor of M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

Speaking at the luncheon, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said:

We are pleased to see and welcome in Moscow Comrade Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers. The new Soviet-Polish meeting shows first and foremost that the leadership of our fraternal parties and the governments of both countries are displaying unremitting concern for the strengthening of Soviet-Polish ties and the combining of efforts in all spheres of life where we cooperate and interact.

All this was demonstrated with great force during the course of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's recent visit to Poland and his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski and other PPR leaders. This visit demonstrated the coincidence of views on some of the most important questions of bilateral relations, the development of socialism and world politics, and the common nature of the approaches of the CPSU and the PZPR to problems of restructuring and the renewal of socialist society.

The significance of relations between the Soviet Union and Poland is obvious to everyone. Based on equality of rights and mutual assistance, independence and common responsibility for the destinies of peace and socialism, they have over the recent period made qualitatively new advances and are continuing to develop dynamically.

We are grateful to Comrade Rakowski for the businesslike and frank exchange of opinions which we have had on a wide range of issues, and we can confidently say that there is no area where our interests run counter to each other. On the contrary, the Soviet Union and Poland have common interests in overcoming difficulties in the economic and social spheres, implementing radical political and economic reforms, and in international affairs. They link with equal measure the prospects for an all-around upsurge of their countries with the fullest utilization of the potential of socialism, with the transition to a path of intensive development and with the process of the revolutionary renewal of society. It is our common interest to concentrate efforts on accelerating scientific-technical progress, the deepening of coordination of production and ensuring fuller satisfaction of people's requirements for foodstuffs, goods, and services.

Much will depend on how much success is achieved in the progress of the restructuring of the mechanism and forms of Soviet-Polish cooperation. Herein lies the key to raising its effectiveness and mutual advantage.

Today I would particularly like to single out questions concerning the expansion of direct contacts between the working people of our countries. We regard the increasingly active involvement of representatives of all strata of the population in this process as one of the characteristic features of the development of Soviet-Polish relations. Polish builders of modern industrial and sociocultural projects, restorers of ancient monuments, scientific and cultural figures, and tourists are now not just occasional guests in the USSR but an increasing flow of people drawn into various spheres of our multifarious

bilateral links. There is a constant increase in the number of Soviet specialists in various sectors of the economy, scientists, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, young people, and all of these who display a lively interest in the contemporary reality, history, and culture of the fraternal Polish people, who have visited Poland.

Naturally, one of the main themes of our talks was the exchange of experience of the transformations taking place in the two countries in the political, socio-economic and other spheres. We are grateful to the Polish comrades for their detailed and thorough account of the course of the implementation of the tasks of the second stage of the economic reform which are vitally important for Poland.

As for our restructuring, as is shown by the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is confidently gathering pace. Profound changes are taking place in the moral-political climate of our society: the Soviet people are more confident of their strength and there has been a strengthening of the understanding that it is only through the active participation of all in practical work to implement party policy that it is possible to give restructuring an irreversible character, to overcome the grave inheritance of the stagnation period, and to raise the people's standard of living.

We have entered a new and extremely crucial period of development. The reform of the country's political system has started, and broad measures are being carried out to deepen the socialist democratization of society. Only an unswerving implementation of what has been set out, and an overcoming of the inertia of repose and inaction will allow a disclosure in all its entirety of the creative potential of Soviet society in accordance with Lenin's understanding of the humanist nature of socialism, and in the interests of the working person.

The Soviet Union highly values the support that is being given by the PPR leadership and the broadest strata of the Polish public to the innovative transformations in our country. The fundamental similarity of the main tasks and aims of the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union and Poland imparts a new quality to our cooperation and gives rise, among Soviet people, to a deep interest in seeing that the difficulties that have arisen in Poland are more quickly surmounted on a platform of national accord and in the interests of strengthening socialism.

As was noted in the joint Soviet-Polish statement adopted in July in Warsaw, and in their policies in the international arena, our countries proceed from the view that humanity has no choice other than to embark on building a secure and stable world, free of nuclear weapons, a world without wars or violence. Thanks to the incipient process of the assertion of the new political thinking, a profound crack has appeared in the policy of confrontation with the socialist countries, of "differentiated approaches" toward them, and of interference in their internal affairs.

At the same time, through the joint efforts of many states, it has been possible to make a start on real nuclear disarmanent and to embark on the settlement of regional conflicts, and to achieve within a short space of time the tangible improvement of the political climate in Europe and in the world as a whole. More favorable conditions are taking shape for a consistent advance along the road toward comprehensive security.

In the process of the growth of positive trends in the world situation, the all-European dialogue occupies a special place. The USSR highly appraises Poland's weighty contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and to the common course of the fraternal states of turning the old world into a model of new, civilized, and mutually advantageous international relations. The integrated program for reducing armaments and increasing trust in Central Europe, which is is known as the "Jaruzelski Plan," has achieved wide recognition far beyond the borders of Poland. Now we see real possibilities for concluding the Vienna meeting with positive results which will be of long-term significance for the peoples of our continent.

In close cooperation with the PPR and with all our allies and friends, we shall continue to strive for the democratization and humanization of international relations. We will actively seek a balance of interests of states and we will do everything possible to strengthen the atmosphere of mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation, in the world community.

Allow me to wish the new government of the PPR and you, personally, esteemed Comrade Rakowski, fruitful activity for the good of socialist Poland.

May Soviet-Polish cooperation develop unswervingly; may our alliance and the friendship between the peoples of the USSR and fraternal Poland gather force and strengthen!

Moscow TV Interviews Rakowski

LD2210214388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1855 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PPR Council of Ministers chairman, by Political Observer Igor Kudrin; date and place not given; Rakowski speaks in Polish, fading into superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Kudrin] Comrade Rakowski, first of all we would like to know your opinion about the talks you have been holding in Moscow. What are the results of this visit?

[Rakowski] Well, my assessment of the talks in Moscow is very positive. For me the talks were very interesting and important. The people with whom I spoke—Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, the Soviet premier—were very interested in the development of the situation in Poland and in our country's state of affairs. This is understandable, for they are our friends; they are sincere friends. At the center of our attention were economic, culture, and political cooperation. But the main impression which I retain from the conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is the fact that we have common aims. So that this does not sound like a slogan I would like to add that the fact is that the aims of Soviet restructuring correspond very much to Polish aims. The second conclusion is that our aims and our ideas on the reforms that must be carried out in our country in public, economic, and political fields either coincide in full or are very close to what is taking place within the framework of Soviet restructuring. In a word, therefore, I see the results of this visit as a very successful, positive results. This visit is useful for me, it is useful for the government which I represent, for our country, and for the Polish people.

[Kudrin] A great deal is being written about Poland and at times opinions are very contradictory. How would you, as premier, assess your country's present situation?

[Rakowski] The situation in Poland continues to remain complicated because we are still reaping the fruits of the crisis which broke out with greatest sharpness in 1981. This is expressed in the fact that the consequences of the crisis are still being felt in our economy. The situation is further complicated by the large external debts which amount to $36 billion and R5 billion. This is a heavy burden for the Polish economy and a problem that cannot be solved so easily. At the present time we can only pay the interest on these debts: that is, $2 billion per year. This affects our ability to import raw materials and equipment from the West, which our industry needs so much. This gives rise to a tense situation in the economy.

The second problem is the growth in wages, which is even overtaking the rise in prices, although prices in our country are increasing and in the summer this brought about a tense situation in the country, which led to the resignation of the government. Public opinion has placed responsibility for the situation on the former government. The situation in the domestic market was very difficult. A lot of goods were in short supply not because industry had started to produce less but because there were excessively large sums of money in the hands of the population. Today, of course, the political situation in the country is quite different from what it was in say, 1981, or immediately after the introduction of martial law. It must be said, however, that we do have a strong opposition, although part of this opposition is the so-called constructive opposition that operates within the framework of our system. This opposition operates within the framework of the constitution. We also have vehement opponents which make the situation in the country extremely complicated. In turn, it must be remembered that if opposition exists then there must be some reason for this. There are historical reasons and present reasons. That is the first thing. The second thing is that if an opposition exists, then it is essential to seek some form of coexistence. After all, they are Poles, too. One must not take things as far as situations of conflict, which might be to the detriment of the interests of the state and people.

[Kudrin] It would be interesting for our television viewers to hear how you assess Soviet-Polish relations and cooperation. What are the prospects for these?

[Rakowski] I believe cooperation with the Soviet Union is of enormous significance for Poland. One must remember that for the first time in many centuries our eastern border is something that unites rather than divides. There are no hotbeds of tension on any kilometer of that border. That is a great success for our people and that situation must be preserved. If, however, it is a question of the level and content of our relations, then one can say that great reserves still exist. Many possibilities still exist for expanding our cooperation in culture, economy, and science. Take just the fact that the Soviet Union possesses an enormous domestic market and although Poland does have a presence in this market it is possible for it to consider that it is still an insufficient one. At the same time one must remember that never before in history has Poland been so widely represented in the everyday life of the Soviet Union. Just think of the Polish books, translations, plays, the Polish technical equipment, specialists—in the past there was nothing of the kind, never in history. This is a great success both for Soviet and for Polish Communists. There always have to be two sides for cooperation to exist, and I assess our relations as very good and unusually advantageous both for Poland and for the Soviet Union and for all of Europe. One must remember, however, that opportunities that have not yet been used lie before us.

[Kudrin] My final question. If it is no secret, please, what are the tasks you are setting yourself as chairman of the Council of Ministers and what are the immediate tasks of your cabinet?

[Rakowski] The main task is to speed up the economic reform: in a word, accelerating the socialist renewal of social and economic relationships. In specific terms, this is primarily the struggle against inflation which is taking place in Poland. We are also devoting a lot of attention to the situation on the domestic market. It is essential to achieve an increase in the quantity of goods on the domestic market, although we are still a long way away from an ideal state of affairs.

[Kudrin] Thank you very much. All the very best to you. [video shows Rakowski and Kudrin seated in armchairs]

Radio Interview: 'Postive' Results

LD2210202488 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Prime Minister, how do you assess the results of your visit to Moscow?

[Rakowski] If it is a question of my assessment of this visit, it is a very positive one. All the talks were very interesting and important for me. I must say that the people I spoke to—Premier Ryzhkov and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev—were very interested in Polish matters, the development of the situation in Poland. That is underestandable, after all they are friends and very sincere friends at that. Naturally we talked about our economic, cultural, and political cooperation. Most importantly—especially in the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev—I believe we obviously have joint aims. So that it does not sound too much like a cliche, I would like to quite simply say that the joint aims manifest themselves in the fact that the whole concept of Soviet restructuring suits us as Poles; it suits the Polish leadership.

The second conclusion—or the second observation—is that our aims, that's our ideas on the need to restructure the social, economic, and political structure in Poland, are similar or totally convergent with those in the Soviet Union. I cannot sum up our visit other than to say it was very successful. It was very useful for me personally and useful for the government which I represent, for our country, and beneficial from the point of view of my nation's interests.

[Correspondent] Mr Prime Minister, what in your opinion is the current state of Polish-Soviet relations and what are the prospects for the future?

[Rakowski] Naturally, relations with the Soviet Union have enormous significance for Poland. Please remember that for the first time in several hundred years Poland's eastern border does not divide but joins. There is not a single burning conflict on any kilometer of that border. That is a great success for our nation and should be preserved. However, if it is a question of the concrete level or the substance of relations, I can also say that there are fields which have not yet been cultivated yet; they are still unplowed, let us say. There are a great deal of opportunities to expand and intensify cooperation in the economic, scientific, and cultural areas. [passage indistinct] there are still enormous opportunities here.

It obviously depends on our resources, but I do think that we are not taking full advantage of the opportunities. It should also be remembered that all of this happened after World War II. Never before in history has Poland been so present—widely and deeply—in the daily life of the Soviet nations. That is why the number of Polish books, translations, theaters; there is also Polish technology, Polish specialists. [sentence as heard] that is something exceptional. That did not exist in recent history; it is a great success both for Poland and for the CPSU, because for there to be cooperation there must be two sides. Obviously I consider relations to be very good and extremely advantageous for Poland, for the Soviet Union, and really for Europe, for European peace. New oportunities are continually opening up here.

Polish Media Interview Rakowski

LD2110231588 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 21—At the close of his visit to Moscow Premier Rakowski granted an interview to Polish TV and PAP:

Q.: The programme of your visit was very intensive. Your meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev lasted nearly two hours. Could you please contribute some impressions and assess the visit?

A.: Impressions from talks with Mikhail Gorbachev are always good, because he is an extremely interesting interlocutor—a man who thinks in historical terms, perceives a distant perspective, but also perceives everything that is going on in the Soviet Union today. What is particularly striking is this immense preoccupation with the programme of perestroyka. He clearly perceives all blockades and obstacles, but he also believes that these can be overcome, for he can win society. Not only can he get in touch with this society, but from what he says one can feel that he perfectly understands peoples' expectations. He is an extremely interesting partner to talk to.

Q.: One can hear very often about convergence between our renewal and Soviet perestroyka. To what degree the specific Polish problems of ours are accepted in the Soviet Union? [as received]

A.: They surely are, but I would put it in a slightly different way: I would say that our thinking concerning the reconstruction or remodelling of socio-economic, political structures aims in the same direction as the thinking of our Soviet friends, and—concretely—also that of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Each side—as I see it—understands the specific character of its partner, but there is no difference in these general assumptions. This is—I would say—a historic opportunity for Poland, opening up the prospect of tightening ties with the Soviet Union, with the Russians and other Soviet nations living in this great country. This is, in my opinion, an extremely interesting situation.

Q.: The recent years saw a significant deterioration of Poland's position as the Soviet Union's partner in economic relations. Were these issues also raised?

A.: Of course they were. Economic contacts and cooperation and Poland's presence on the Soviet market were the subject of talks with Premier Ryzhkov and we devoted much attention to these questions. However, we also discussed them with the general secretary, stating that there still exist immense possibilities for Poland's increased presence on the Soviet market. I think that our industrialists and tradesmen should remember that this is a great market which will accept every good—good, I stress—product from Poland.

Q.: Today Soviet politics displays great openness to the world. We also observe great dynamics in European relations. Does this also open prospects for the return of Polish foreign policy to our traditional European tracks?

A.: Undoubtedly, foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union in recent years also increases possibilities of free activities in Polish policy. But I want to add here at once that as concerns Polish foreign policy, it has always been marked by big dynamics—even when times were not favourable in that regard. What I have in mind is the situation in Europe or the situation across both sides of the borderline between capitalist and socialist Europe.

Poland's foreign policy recorded big achievements but, obviously, I admit that with the current Soviet foreign [policy] being so very dynamic, also our policy surely gains additional trumps, and, to put it more precisely, we gain additional support for this policy which is so much open. I mean our policy.

After all, we do not reject any initiatives which come, for instance, from the West, initiatives which serve economic, political and cultural cooperation. We want to be present in European affairs. Gorbachev's concept of a common European house suits us very much. We, like the Soviet Union, live and act in this Europe. All developments related to Soviet foreign policy increase our chances.

Q.: What do you consider problem number one in Polish- Soviet relations?

A.: Well, simply to strengthen our ties in all domains, expand our presence here in the commercial, cultural, political, economic fields. This is this key problem or the main aim for our entire activity. Without losing ties which have already been established, we should make all efforts to more emphatically mark our presence here.

TRUD Views Polish Scene, Trade Union Role

PM2010091388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Oct 88 p 2

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Skvortsov: "Poland: Hot Autumn"]

[Text] The beginning of September saw the end of strikes in the mines and shipyards in Poland. Order and a working rhythm set in. But not public tranquility. The fall "wave of strikes," the second already this year, albeit headed at some enterprises by professional instigators of social conflict, showed that the number of very acute problems in the country is not, alas, diminishing. Reform has not yet given the desired results in the economy. Hence the constant rise in prices, the shortage of many goods, and the discrepancy between prices and wages.

The strikes were over, but the economic and social problems were not completely revealed. And the situation demanded an immediate response.

The government, having failed to draw conclusions from the fall conflicts and unable to restructure itself while carrying out reform, submitted, as we know, its resignation. This was accepted by the Sejm, which elected a new chairman of the Council of Ministers in Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who formed a new government.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski has recently met with with the leaders of Polish parties, public organizations and movements, and academics. A meeting has taken place with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, head of the Catholic church. One of the first conversations the chairman of the Council of Ministers had was with the leadership of the National Trade Union Alliance. The new government's program of activity is thus being drafted on the basis of consultations with representatives of various official and informal organizations, movements, and forces in Poland.

The ministerial resignations and the formation of the government in conditions of extensive glasnost is a new phenomenon in political culture in Poland and for that reason causes surprise in some people and even dismay in others, although the course of extensive democratization in the country was proclaimed by the PZPR some time ago now. But for most Poles these events ultimately give rise to the hope that effective measures to overcome the difficult situation in the economy will be found, that the process of stabilizing prices and the market will begin, that a rational and fair system of labor remuneration will appear...

The roundtable talks starting in Warsaw are also an important event. Its very title already indicates that this is a dialogue or, more precisely, an attempt at dialogue, in this case between the government and those who belong to the "independent," constructive opposition as it is called in Poland. The Polish Government has invited them to talks to jointly discuss the country's future in the political, economic, and social sphere. In other words, those who have hitherto preferred merely to criticize the authorities' actions have now received the opportunity to openly express their vision of the country's future and exert really mutually acceptable influence on the situation in Poland.

Will the two sides be able to reach agreement and work out a common position? What specific results can be expected from the roundtable? These and similar questions are now being asked not only on television and radio and in the newspapers but in labor collectives and in many Polish homes.

The Public Opinion Research Center has just carried out a poll on this topic to find out what people expect from the roundtable. To the question "Does the roundtable have a chance of succeeding?" 40.9 percent of those polled replied "Most probably," while 17.5 percent hold the contrary view. One can thus speak about optimism, albeit cautious, on the part of Poles regarding the roundtable. Approximately 57 percent of people hope that it will lead to changes for the better in the country. Forty percent think that it will above all affect the political and ideological sphere. For example, cooperation between the government and constructive constitutionally based opposition circles, the expansion of civil freedoms, and so forth.

It is well known that Lech Walesa, leader of former "Solidarity," intends to take part. Since an interview with him has been published and it is already known that he advocates the legalization of "Solidarity," the topic of trade union pluralism, the possibility of several trade union organizations existing at Polish enterprises, has become one of the main discussion topics facing the roundtable. (I want to remind readers that the law on Polish Trade Unions allows in principle for the existence of several trade union organizations, but the operation of this provision has been suspended until a special decision is taken by the Polish Council of State.)

There are very different opinions here. For example, T. Mazowiecki, deputy chairman of the Warsaw Catholic Intelligentsia Club has, writing in the newspaper EKSPRES WIECZORNY, advocated trade union pluralism, maintaining that the legalization of "Solidarity" would help bring about the rapid solution of many Polish problems. While the political expert M. Krajewski, writing in the same newspaper, expressed the opposite opinion, namely that the existence of two trade unions at a single enterprise would today entail inevitable rivalry, which would have a fatal impact particularly on production but also ultimately on the work collective's living standard. Poland cannot permit itself that now.

Mieczyslaw Krajewski in point of fact expressed the opinion of the National Alliance of revived trade unions. Given the present acute situation, the National Trade Union Alliance considers the slogan "One trade union per enterprise!" to be the most acceptable and relevant. That this sole specific trade union may have proved ineffective and lacking in drive and does not defend workers' interests is another matter. But then no one and nothing prevents workers from electing new representatives who are more democratic and bolder.

The National Trade Union Alliance thinks that in the present conditions the revived trade unions need to restructure their activity, to restructure as they go along. The national conference of revived trade unions will be held in Lodz at the end of November and will carefully analyze both the successes and failures of the trade union movement in the country. And new ways and new plans of future activity will be outlined.

...A normal, calm pace of work prevails in Poland. But this is a hot autumn. A time of new hopes. And new deeds.

TV Reports Joint GDR Military Exercise

LD2210212988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A joint military exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army of the GDR is being held on the territory of the German Democratic Republic. Taking part are more than 17,000 servicemen. The aim of the exercise is to improve forces' field training and to refine matters of management and interaction. In accordance with the documents of the Stockholm Conference, the GDR Government invited observers from all of the participating states of the CSCE to the exercise. [video shows amphibious armored vehicles crossing an expanse of water; observers watching from a platform; a T-64 tank mounting a floating platform; trucks driving across a floating bridge]

West Europe

Kohl Pre-Visit Interviews, Arrives Moscow 24 Oct

Moscow TV Interview

LD2210025588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl prior to 24-27 October visit to the Soviet Union; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Vladimir Kondratyev; identified from caption] [passage omitted] A question to the chancellor on the eve of his visit. [video shows Kondratyev sitting opposite Kohl]. What importance does he attach, on the whole, to the further development of relations between our countries?

[Kohl, in German, with superimposed translation into Russian read by Kondratyev] A decisive importance. The Soviet Union, as we see things in the Federal Republic of Germany, is one of our most important neighbours in the East. General Secretary Gorbachev and I, in an exchange of letters, have expressed the

mutual intention of opening a new chapter in the relations between our countries—a chapter in which the historical ties of both peoples are placed in the foreground.

Relations between the German and the Russians extend beyond the framework of the history of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. They are measured in terms of centuries. These relations were marked by lengthy periods peaceful coexistence. Take either music, painting, science, mathematics or philosophy—anything that you can imagine. It was mutual enrichment. There have been terrible times, especially in the present century. I think that we should not oppress history, and that we should always preserve in our consciousness the sad pages of the past. But this is only filled with meaning in the life of each individual and in the lives of the peoples if you learn from your mistakes and if you derive lessons from history for the sake of the future. This means that the general secretary and I are obliged to think about our own children, about the next and subsequent generations, so that what happened once will never again be repeated, so that a lasting peace will be established. Despite all the differences in our systems, despite the different views on the state and society, this is possible.

FRG TV Interview

LD2210174588 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 22 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are fully resolved to open up a new chapter in the history of bilateral relations and to develop cooperation in all fields, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has said in an interview with the ARD TV [FRG television] programme.

The Soviet Union, he pointed out, is our most important neighbour in the East. The achievement of progress in the field of bilateral relations will have a positive effect on the development of the dialogue between East and West as a whole.

Matters concerning the policy of security and disarmament will figure importantly during the forthcoming visit, the chancellor said. A tangible progress has been achieved in this field. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles became the first concrete step on the way to reductions in nuclear arms.

At the present the Soviet Union and the United States are holding talks on a cut in strategic offensive arms. Headway at the talks has somewhat slowed down in view of the presidential elections in the United States. However, the dialogue will undoubtedly be continued when the next administration takes office in January next year.

The elimination of disbalances in the field of conventional arms in Europe, a ban on and elimination of chemical weapons remain another vital issue. It is essential to approach the arms reduction issue comprehensively, within the framework of a joint concept which would cover all types of weapons, Helmut Kohl emphasized.

Priority in conducting talks and decision-making on important aspects of disarmament policy belongs to two military alliances as a whole—the Warsaw Treaty and North Atlantic Treaty Organisations, he pointed out. The Federal Republic is only part of the North Atlantic alliance, but the results of talks in Moscow will be of great importance to all Western allies.

It is possible to achieve successes in the field of disarmament and relaxation of tension only provided there is mutual trust, the chancellor went on to say. The building of the trust is determined by the development of relations in all fields—economic, scientific, technical, and cultural. The Soviet Union is now faced with enormous tasks in the economic field. It is possible to resolve them more quickly and effectively through cooperation with the West. A whole number of agreements on cooperation between West German firms and Soviet partners will be signed during the visit. This event will become yet another important step in the right direction.

Expansion of youth and scientific exchanges, and the development of peopole-to-people contacts will promote better mutual understanding between peoples, Helmut Kohl emphasized. The chancellor voiced hope that progress would be achieved in this field as well.

TV Program Views Cooperation

LD2310112388 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Bilateral cooperation was the main topic of the program "USSR-West Germany: Turning Point" that was shown by Soviet television last Saturday on the eve of the visit to Moscow of Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

A report from the BMV works in Regensburg whose energy supply is based on Soviet natural gas set an optimistic tone of the program. Recalling forecasts of Western propaganda about some "red tap" with the help of which the USSR can allegedly stop gas supply when it pleases, Vladimir Kondratyev, author of the script, pointed out: "The Soviet Union accounts today for about one third of West Germany's fuel imports, and this situation is regarded as normal. However, our perestroyka can no longer support the situation when we rely only on oil and gas in our business relations with West Germany. We must look for new forms, new ways". The discussion at the BMV central board in Munich of a possibility of creating a joint Soviet-West German enterprise for the production of cars is one of the examples of a new approach to cooperation.

Authors of the program believe that peaceful space exploration is one of the promising spheres of cooperation. The demand is high in West Germany in the use of TV and geodesic satellites, as well as other services offered by the Soviet commercial association GLAVCOSMOS. Although West German firms still refrain from using Soviet space technology for political considerations (they would not like to undermine their relations with the U.S.) the matter has been moved out of the impasse. A number of contracts have been signed for putting to orbit with the help of Soviet rockets instruments produced in West Germany. A possible participation of a West German cosmonaut in a space flight to the Soviet orbital station Mir is being considered today.

It is believed, the program pointed out, that machine-building, electronics and the light industry are the most promising spheres of bilateral business cooperation. However, Soviet specialists have been turning their attention more often of late to West German agriculture. Soviet plant-breeders have been regularly exchanging information since 1980 with workers of the centre for evolving new seeds in the city of Einbeck, Lower Saxony. Karl-Josef Schmitz, a senior executive of the centre, said in the program: "Our firm regards the USSR not only as an enormous potential market. We highly appreciate a possibility to conduct joint experiments in various climatic and soil zones of your country. It is extremely important that mutually advantageous partnership is developing on a long-term basis".

Kohl: 'Step-by-Step' Approach

LD2310124688 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—"We should proceed into the future step-by-step from the position of reason until we achieve tangible disarmament and relaxation of tension on the basis of balance," Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), said in an interview which was mentioned in the programme "The USSR- FRG: At a Turning Point" broadcast on Soviet television on Saturday.

Helmut Kohl pointed out that changes would not come about at once but that one should be patient and move to meet each other in firm but well-considered steps.

Touching upon changes taking place in the Soviet Union, the chancellor said he looks at the USSR with hope for greater openness. His opinion is that, as the Soviet Union becomes more open inside its society and to the outside world, peace and goodneighbourliness will be growing stronger to the same extent. Even friendship may develop in the end, and this must be a common goal. War and violence, Helmut Kohl emphasized, are no longer political means (?now). Every use of violence would lead to a third world war and this would signify the end of civilisation. This is why one should, despite different views, to proceed towards each other.

He said he regards his forthcoming visit to Moscow in inseparable connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's reply visit to Bonn next year. This time the sides are to discuss many matters which cannot yet be resolved finally. This could be done next year.

The chancellor mentioned several fields in which the FRG was prepared to cooperate. These include the economic sphere, the ensurance of safety at nuclear power stations, culture, sports, and student exchanges.

Kohl Remarks on Upcoming Visit

PM2210191588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch on interview with FRG Chancellor H. Kohl by Soviet jounalists in Bonn; date not given: "Potential Is Obvious. Regarding FRG Chancellor H. Kohl's Visit to the USSR"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Oct—Preparations for FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's official visit to the Soviet Union are being completed in Bonn. This is probably the first time so many different bodies have been involved in a visit. The aim is to flesh out the agreements underlying our economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation and to open up new spheres for it. The Economics Ministry has collated information about talks and accords between dozens of firms and Soviet partners on implementing specific projects. The Federal Chancellor's Department and the Foreign Ministry are concerned with the political strategy and tactics of the upcoming talks, in which, in another sign of the times, the West German defense minister will also participate for the first time.

All of this activity, along with dispatches and commentaries about various aspects of our life, is amply reflected in the major and minor press. Representatives of the press have booked 170 seats on a special flight to Moscow, not counting those who are traveling independently of the "landing force."

The chancellor received Soviet journalists ahead of the visit and held a thorough, 90-minute conversation. Helmut Kohl looked smart and was very quick in his movements, despite his big build (he is 1 m 93 cm tall). But what made the greatest impression was his free manner of speaking and natural affability. He told us to speak frankly and to quote directly only from the written text of his answers to questions that had been submitted in advance, a text which had been handed to us.

The text was in German and Russian. It only remained to read it so that we could avoid covering the same ground in the conversation.

"Relations with the Soviet Union are of central importance to the FRG," the chancellor declared, in particular. "Our policy vis-a-vis your country is marked by continuity. It is imbued with a desire for mutual understanding and cooperation.

"In view of the policy of restructuring and glasnost that your country is pursuing, we want to take advantage of every opportunity to give our relations a long-term future on the basis of the Moscow treaty. We will thereby make a substantial contribution to the future development of Europe and to radically improving relations between West and East. General Secretary Gorbachev and I are agreed that the aim of the upcoming exchange of visits is to secure progress in German-Soviet relations in the greatest possible number of spheres, to mutual advantage. On the basis of mutual respect, despite the divergences on fundamental issues which continue to exist, we want to discuss the many opportunities for cooperation that are still untapped. We want to agree or to begin implementing as many specific projects as possible in all spheres of cooperation and exchange, that is, not only in the spheres of politics, the economy, science, and technology, but also in the spheres of culture and humanitarian issues. Mutual trust must strengthen across the whole spectrum of relations."

That is quite a clear-cut and constructive position. Additional questions came to mind in connection with certain approaches to problems of disarmament and security. The FRG is certainly capable of promoting their solution in many respects. Remember the wise and courageous step taken by Chancellor Kohl himself with regard to eliminating the Pershing-1A missiles belonging to the Bundeswehr. This was his own personal decision, as he told us, and it removed substantial obstacles to concluding the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Overall, the FRG intends to continue to participate in disarmament actions. "Our aim," the text of the interview handed to us says, "is to bring about a situation in Europe in which conventional armed forces, from the viewpoint of their quantity, combat equipment, and stationing, are no longer capable of launching a surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations.... It is now important to translate the mutually expressed readiness to eliminate imbalances into the language of specific accords at the future talks."

At the same time the chancellor believes that NATO "cannot do without nuclear and conventional armed forces of suitable size and efficiency in the proper correlation." Consequently, a nuclear-free world and nuclear-free Europe as yet form no part of the FRG Government's concept of the future, but "because of this rejection of the total abandonment of nuclear weapons, which would not meet our security interests, what are coming to the fore are above all short-range nuclear systems," the chancellor says, seemingly leaving the door slightly open.

In his view, it is necessary to begin with a unilateral renunciation by the USSR of "part of its potential." But subsequent prospects are only hazily sketched out. "This would improve the preconditions for talks, which we think necessary, on an appreciable and verifiable reduction in Soviet and U.S. short-range missiles to equal ceilings." Nothing more. However, in reality it is precisely tactical nuclear weapons which represent the greatest danger to German soil, and it is not for nothing that broad strata of the FRG population sympathize with the idea of a "third zero." But the chancellor only agrees that in his country "there is broad consensus that the efforts being jointly made by West and East will bring us closer to the goal of a lasting and stable peace with fewer weapons."

Of course, Helmut Kohl developed and substantiated his arguments in the conversation. In these comments too he appeared a complex partner. On some questions, especially those of bilateral cooperation or conventional arms reductions and the prohibition of chemical weapons, we sensed a readiness for radical, constructive steps. On other, chiefly nuclear questions, including that of a "modernization" of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons which would bring them almost up to the parameters of the shorter-range missiles now being destroyed, we sensed rather a wait-and-see attitude and an avoidance of direct answers. People in Bonn allude to the U.S. elections in this connection: It's hard to speak of disarmament, they say, when you don't know who will be president.

There was also some mere repetition of old positions and views that many people in the FRG now regard as out of tune with reality and the imperatives of the late 20th century. Certainly, various circumstances, including those stemming from the alliance, influence the FRG Government's approach to disarmament. But from the personal viewpoint the chancellor, who lost his brother in the war, does not regard these problems in abstract terms. Raising children only to lose them in a war is not a German or a Russian problem, he noted. It is a human question.

Incidentally, a few words about views. The discussion of them was probably the most interesting part of our conversation. The chancellor showed great interest and considerable erudition on matters of history. Some of his interpretations and comparisons, especially those concerning the reasons for the tragedies and consequences of the last war, may seem debatable. But on the whole he was gripped by the thought of the deep historical roots of our peoples' relations, which include not only tragic pages and events, but also many interesting and useful ones, in both the prewar and postwar periods.

The chancellor gets very close to the concept of the all-European home, calling it a "European peace structure." And Europe does indeed mean Europe, not just its Western part, which is known here by that name. In this integral Europe the FRG, in our interlocutor's opinion,

should not aspire to the function of a bridge between West and East but merely make its contribution to building and improving such a bridge. Much can be done here, including the encouragement of long-term cooperation between the EEC and CEMA.

Have H. Kohl's ideas about our country changed in any way lately? No, they haven't changed, he unexpectedly replied to my question, because he has never subscribed to anti-Russian sentiments. He has also never believed, in light of history, that we are doomed to bad relations.

The world is changing. Few people expected at the beginning of the Reagan presidency that it would end with the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We should not lean too heavily on each other. It is better to gradually build up deeds and trust, especially in the economic sphere, where the sum total of individual measures is capable of producing a great effect.

The world is changing. The chancellor is observing with interest the process of restructuring in the USSR and sees its great importance from the international viewpoint. If one proceeds from the assumption that the Soviet Union will implement Gorbachev's program and that links between our countries and between the EEC and CEMA will develop intensively, then our planet, Europe included, may be completely different in the foreseeable future—in 5 years, for instance.

The forecast is very appropriate. That is evident from the example of the FRG. Nothing is more striking here now than the change in the public atmosphere with regard to the Soviet Union and the emergence of new views on problems of trust, disarmament, all-European cooperation, and peace.

According to data produced by the "Sinus" Institute in Munich, 84 percent of FRG citizens have a positive attitude toward the Soviet leader. "Perestroyka" and "glasnost" have become part of the German vocabulary, just as "sputnik" did in the past. The enemy image is less and less effective: Almost 60 percent of the population no longer perceives "any military threat from the Soviet Union."

The correspondent's office received a telephone call from Professor Noelle-Neumann, chief of the well known Allensbach Demoscopy Institute. She cited her own data. For example, the question "Do you think Gorbachev is really striving to ensure peace?" was answered in the affirmative by 61 percent and in the negative by only 12 percent. "A perfectly clear picture illustrating the fundamental change since 'cold war' times," she declared.

Commenting on the results of the latest polls, WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE observer Akhim Melkhers notes that "the growing sympathies toward people in the Soviet Union" are based on the Soviet leadership's policy. There are, however, other factors: "The prewar generation's desire to consign war to oblivion is fused with the postwar generation's desire to use trust as a means for peace. It is desirable to consolidate these prerequisites through the growth of exchanges and openness to ensure that the sympathies do not remain just a fleeting sentiment but become permanent."

Not a single predecessor of the present chancellor, and not even Kohl himself in the recent past, could count on such a benevolent attitude by the people, the public, and the political forces toward the mission in Moscow and in general toward the development of contacts, ties, exchanges, and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Today the line of dialogue and of strengthening trust and cooperation with the USSR is backed by all parties represented in the Bonn Bundestag, even though the priorities and accents may differ.

In the last few days they have all confirmed the coincidence of their basic positions. The Social Democrats did so through Egon Bahr, member of the party's board. He expressed confidence that the turning of a new page in Soviet-West German relations must be backed by a serious program for political collaboration in the interests of disarmament and security in Europe.

The Communists also expressed their attitude toward the visit. Speaking at a press conference in Bonn, Karl-Heinz Schroeder, member of the German Communist Party Board Presidium, noted that the dynamic development of Soviet-West German relations conforms with the party's views regarding the most important conditions for a peaceful future for the FRG population and the building of the European home.

There is no doubt that this domestic political and psychological situation offers a major new opportunity for FRG leaders. The possibilities are obvious. The West German public is aware of the USSR's readiness to take our relations to a new qualitative level, to develop contacts in various spheres, and to strengthen mutually advantageous cooperation and respectful and friendly relations with the FRG people.

At the end of the conversation held in the small cabinet room, Chancellor Kohl raised a glass of dry Pfalz wine, for which his native Rhine region is famous. Here I would venture to quote him verbatim: "To a good trip to Moscow." We of course joined him in this wish.

Kohl Looks Forward to Trip

PM2310152088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with FRG Chancellor H. Kohl by Ye. Bovkun and Ye. Grishin, IZVESTIYA correspondents in the FRG: "Helmut Kohl: We Look at One Another With Greater Impartiality"; date, place not given]

[Text] On the eve of his forthcoming visit to the USSR, FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl received IZVESTIYA's correspondents and answered their questions.

[Interviewers] Mr Federal Chancellor, during your first visit to Moscow as head of government of the Federal Republic, you mentioned as important goals of your foreign policy program not only the long-term development of contacts with the Soviet Union, but also a new character for these contacts. Has the Federal Government's "Ostpolitik" undergone a change of course in light of the changes taking place in our country under the banner of restructuring and glasnost? Could you point out the most significant signs of the turn toward relations of a new character between the USSR and the FRG?

[Kohl] During my 1983 visit I advocated the further development of constructive relations with the Soviet Union and a new and improved character for them. I am still pursuing the same goal because my government's policy—a policy of mutual understanding, dialouge, and cooperation—is of a long-term nature.

We welcome the reforms and fundamental changes that have begun in your country under General Secretary Gorbachev's leadership. We are not indifferent to the development of the Soviet Union—one of the world's great and most important countries. A Soviet foreign policy that is based on cooperation, not confrontation, on openness, not isolationism, accords with our interests. The growing interest in events in another country is undoubtedly an indication that we have the right to speak of a new chapter in our relations. We are looking at one another with greater impartiality; we are reopening past chapters of our history that bore the imprint of constructive cooperation, and we are counting on joint actions in future.

I am confident that we will now be able to energetically develop an all-European peace structure in which human rights will be observed, cooperation will be stepped up in all spheres, and security will be ensured for everyone together, not at someone's expense.

[Interviewers] Formulating the criteria of security is certainly a difficult process, but the existence of common interests helps us to find mutually acceptable compromises, as we can see from the example of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. How can the USSR and the FRG, as states belonging to opposite social systems and military alliances, promote the rapprochement of the positions of East and West in the sphere of security?

[Kohl] Together with our NATO partners, we seek, on the basis of guaranteed defense capability, to develop dialogue and cooperation also in the sphere of disarmament and arms control. The last 2 years have shown that a rapprochement in positions can be achieved provided that the other side's security interests are taken into account. Impressive examples of this are the concluding document of the Stockholm conference and the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In the Stockholm document, measures to strengthen confidence and security for the whole of Europe, subject to compulsory on-site monitoring, were agreed upon. Thus the level of openness in Europe is increased and distrust is lessened.

With the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the principle of asymmetrical disarmament was recognized: Whoever has more should disarm more. The comprehensive verification system that backs up this agreement has already proved itself an effective component of the treaty and one which inspires trust.

We have thus secured a firm starting point that inspires us to further steps on the road to greater security and togetherness. The principles reflected in the aforementioned examples should also be enshrined in other spheres of arms control and disarmament, such as the elimination of asymmetries and the need for effective monitoring.

Our two states have a particular interest in the attainment of a state of lasting stability in conventional armed forces and the rapid conclusion of an agreement banning chemical weapons throughout the world.

[Interviewers] What role does the FRG play in the formulation of NATO's overall concept in the security sphere, and will it take account of the USSR's proposals contained in the well-known program for disarmament up to the year 2000?

[Kohl] The FRG participates actively within NATO in the formulation of the general concept of security, disarmament, and arms control. The alliance's aim is still to strengthen general security by means of establishing a stable and balanced correlation of forces in conventional and nuclear arms at the lowest possible level.

Defense needs are taken into account in formulating the alliance's concept, equally with the chances of increasing bilateral security through disarmament and arms control and through the creation of cooperative structures. I am glad the dialogue that has long been conducted between East and West on security matters has been stepped up recently. I find it entirely natural to take into account others' proposals and reactions in formulating our own thoughts. This is the only way to define our common security interests—and that is what we want!

[Interviewers] How do you regard the idea of building a "common European home"?

[Kohl] General Secretary Gorbachev associates the building of Europe's future with the image of a European home. We have long had the concept of a just and long-term peaceful structure in a Europe that has room for freedom and self-determination, respect for human rights, and free contact. Along the path to this goal confrontation is replaced, step by step, by cooperation.

The architectural blueprints and household routine of this Europe of the future are found in the Helsinki Final Act and the concluding documents of Madrid and Vienna. We energetically advocate the successful completion of work on them.

No one has a greater interest in rapprochement between the divided parts of Europe than we Germans, who seek to overcome the unnatural division of our country within the framework of a common European peaceful structure.

[Interviewers] Economic cooperation remains a stable element in bilateral ties, despite the unsatisfactory structure of trade turnover in recent years. What ways of improving trade are proposed by your country's business circles?

[Kohl] The Soviet Union is the FRG's biggest trading partner in the East. Our economic relations have firm foundations. It is in the interests of all of us to further develop these relations. My trip to the Soviet Union will testify that the Federal Government and the German economy are seriously committed to deepening and widening cooperation not only in trade, but also in such spheres as industry, agriculture, medical technology, the peaceful use of nuclear power, aeronautics and cosmonautics, environmental conservation, and transportation. We are working on the basis that during the talks in Moscow it will be possible to conclude a whole series of agreements and projects.

Going beyond the bounds of traditional trade and cooperation ties, we are also thinking about new forms of cooperation. Thirteen German enterprises have already set up "joint ventures" [preceding two words in English] in the Soviet Union. Talks are in progress on the creation of other joint enterprises. It must not be forgotten, however, that this form of cooperation is the most difficult as well as responsible form.

It is important that the Soviet side too, ensuring successful, mutually advantageous cooperation, is making special efforts to improve working conditions for German firms and businessmen in the USSR.

The German economy is watching with interest the development of the process of economic reforms in the Soviet Union. The greater autonomy of Soviet enterprises will give German firms the opportunity to enter into direct contractual relations with Soviet consumers and producers. This will help impart dynamism to relations between our countries' enterprises.

In this connection an additional demand arises for management skills which will make it easier for the senior leaders of Soviet enterprises to fulfill their new functions. Therefore we regard cooperation in the training and advanced training of specialized and leadership cadres for the economy as an important new sphere.

The planned modernization of Soviet light and food industry will open up a new and very extensive field of cooperation. The 3 billions [currency not specified] of credit from a consortium of German banks earmarked for financing these projects is of considerable significance in this connection.

[Interviewers] In one of your speeches you drew attention to the fact that Russia has had a significant influence on German and European culture. We perceive a reciprocal influence. To what extent would it be possible to enrich the dialogue between the two cultures through, for instance, more profound language studies and country studies?

[Kohl] You are right. The two cultures, German and Russian, have enriched one another over the centuries. Both developed in the mainstream of European culture. This relationship is age-old. We are the custodians of a common European heritage that is oriented toward the future. Peaceful cooperation, intensive dialogue, and extensive exchanges were and are the nucleus of our cultural ties. The denser this network, the better the mutual understanding. We want to cover all spheres of culture, not to pick out individual aspects.

Man should always be at the center of attention. The cultural assets created by means of exchanges across borders and systems should ultimately serve man. During my visit to your country I will make concrete proposals on this score.

We want to give life, at last, to the 1973 cultural agreement. This will be achieved by programs, the first of which, covering the next 2 years, will be signed during my visit, once guarantees have been received that the cultural potential of Berlin (West—editor) will be fully involved in the bilateral cultural exchange.

The in-depth study of language and country studies constitute an important task. A German culture institute in Moscow and a corresponding institute of Soviet culture in our country could effectively help to resolve it. I will propose that in Moscow too.

[Interviewers] The history of relations between Russians and Germans contains tragic chapters, but all the same it has not been a continuous chain of military clashes and conflicts. There have also been periods of fruitful collaboration. Does it seem to you that this experience could be a subject for joint historical research which would be useful for improving our peoples' cooperation in the future?

[Kohl] You are right. Fortunately our long shared history contains not only gloomy chapters but, for the most part, bright chapters marked by fruitful collaboration between our peoples. This is an important factor. On this basis we can continue to work, orienting ourselves toward the future. To this end an in-depth study of history is simply essential. German and Soviet historians have already

cooperated closely within the framework of a joint project by the German Scientific Research Society and the USSR Academy of Sciences. That research must continue. More attention must be devoted to the formulation of historical questions in our scientific contacts. It is necessary to involve students and young scholars more widely in joint historical research on an exchange basis.

In this connection we must not exclude any chapter in our relations, even the dark chapters. In particular, we must recheck the facts set out in history textbooks in light of authentic historical research. We will thus be tackling the task of studying the bitter experience of our shared history this century and its thoughtful interpretation, so as to approach mutual understanding and peaceful cooperation in a future worthy of man.

The Federal Government welcomes all forms of partnership with the Soviet Union because they serve direct contacts between people and exchanges between social groups in the two countries. This is an encouraging development that brings us closer to the aims of the Helsinki Final Act and works for mutual understanding.

[Interviewers] Your personal motto is the creation of trust. This is an important prerequisite for mutual understanding and for overcoming the "enemy images." How, in your view, should this quality be cultivated in people?

[Kohl] Trust is the basis of a peaceful life together both on a personal basis and in the social sphere: in the family, in society, and between peoples. It increases wherever there is unfailing respect for the dignity of each individual person in every sphere of his life and for the peoples' right to determine their own path. Ultimately it is a question of virtues that can be encouraged, but also lost. We know from our own history the terrible consequences of educating people in a spirit of hatred. Imposing ideological images of the enemy on growing generations is a crime against their souls and against our common future. Therefore in the FRG we try to raise children as thoughtful individuals capable of thinking for themselves, patient and noble in their dealings with their neighbors and representatives of other peoples. This openness is characteristic of society in the Federal Republic as a whole.

The most important place where these virtues are cultivated is the family home. But the state can also make a considerable contribution to this matter by providing the maximum scope for autonomy and personal initiative in the conditions of a free social system. This promotes not only inner, but outward spiritual openness, because mutual understanding can only grow where there is a knowledge of the way of life, problems, wishes, and hopes of one's neighbors and representatives of other peoples.

Personal meetings are the best way to help eliminate prejudice and hostility and to create trust. Therefore I hope that as a result of my visit to the Soviet Union, opportunities will be improved for the free exchange of opinions and information and the setting up of a denser network of personal meetings between citizens, especially young citizens, of the two countries.

[Interviewers] What do you think will be mankind's main concern in the year 2000?

[Kohl] I am convinced that efforts to ensure a lasting, just peace will remain the main task in international politics. However, the thrust of these efforts could change direction, since in all probability the "North-South" theme will grow in urgency. In recent years we have been able to achieve considerable progress in expanding East-West ties, as well as ties between our states. We want to continue to deepen this cooperation. But future generations will only be able to live in peace, freedom, and stability if we succeed in lessening hunger and poverty, eliminating the gulf in the level of prosperity between North and South, and ensuring global respect for human rights. All states must work on this. No one should remain aloof.

In a few weeks we will be marking the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948. That date reminds us that we are still far enough from the goal then proclaimed of creating a world in which people will be "free from fear or need." The provision in the preamble to that document stating that recognition of man's inalienable rights "is the basis of freedom, justice, and universal peace" remains relevant.

Poverty in the Third World countries, diseases, hunger, and need—all this cannot leave us indifferent, if only by virtue of human solidarity. The peace—the social peace—of the community of peoples is at stake here. We want a just equation of interests between the industrially developed countries and the developing countries. An awareness of the great moral significance of this task has grown markedly in recent years among the population of the Federal Republic. This applies equally to many other industrial states. It is this broad and mighty support that gives me the confidence that we will achieve sure successes in eliminating the gulf between North and South. The joint session of the IMF and the World Bank a few weeks ago in Berlin (West—editor) provided an important impetus in this direction.

The moral aspects of North-South policy must not, however, take second place to the problems of debt and other economic questions. This means: We must fight against poverty and lack of material prosperity, without forgetting the particular form of need that arises from failure to observe human rights. I see this relationship between economic development and the defense of human rights as the greatest challenge to international politics in the coming decades.

[Interviewers] What qualities do you value most in politicians?

[Kohl] Fidelity to principles, combined with open-mindedness; a capacity for compromise, a sense of direction, and truthfulness.

[Interviewers] What role do you assign to the mass media in promoting mutual understanding? Do they reflect an objective picture of our countries' lives?

[Kohl] The press, radio, and television are free in the FRG. They are not subject to any state instructions or control. That is enshrined in our Constitution. Everyone has the right to freely express his opinion in speech, in writing, or by representational means. This often leads to highly subjective judgments, but it also means that nothing is "swept under the carpet." Since every citizen has the right to free access to information, he can form his own view on the basis of pluralism of opinions. The strength of the free social system lies in this diversity and openness: not telling anyone what he should consider correct or objectively true. Thus the danger of manipulation of pulic opinion is considerably reduced. Because there is the right to hold any opinion, everyone has the opportunity to form his own realistic picture of the world around him. This approach is the best way to promote an all-around understanding of individuals and peoples in all their diversity. I am firmly convinced of that.

[Interviewers] In what mood are you going to Moscow?

[Kohl] I am glad to be visiting your country, and I am sure my visit and General Secretary Gorbachev's visit here in the first half of 1989 will raise our relations to a new level and give a concrete and far-reaching boost to future cooperation.

[Interviewers] What do you wish IZVESTIYA readers?

[Kohl] What I wish for your readers and all Soviet citizens is that restructuring and glasnost in your country may have a rapid and positive influence on the life of everyone individually and on the concrete conditions of his existence, and that everyone's hopes may be realized.

Soviet Spokesman on Ties

LD2110134488 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Today Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, described as a "gratifying fact" major steps undertaken in the recent past to deepen the political dialogue between the USSR and the FRG, to expand cooperation in various spheres and to raise the level of relations as a whole.

"The Soviet Union," he told a TASS diplomatic correspondent, "has always regarded the FRG as an important partner in the West, with whom the entire range of urgent international problems can and must be discussed. The entire history of Soviet-West German relations shows that an intense political dialogue between them, filled with adequate mutual trust, benefited the two states and the cause of European and international security."

"The Soviet Union's political course towards the FRG did not experience any time-serving fluctuations. It is oriented on a steady development of bilateral relations," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to say. "The Soviet-West German talks during the Moscow visit by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which will start on October 24, will centre on the most urgent world problems, above all on the issues of disarmament, strengthening of European and international security, development and expansion of bilateral and European cooperation within the Helsinki process with a bearing on creation of a common European home."

"The USSR proceeds from the fact," said Yuriy Gremitskikh, "that, provided there is an appropriate political will, the FRG can render its positive and constructive influence on the process of disarmament talks, including the Soviet-American negotations on nuclear weapons. The drafting in Vienna of a mandate for talks on cutting armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals depends to a large extent on the stand and practices of the FRG. The constructive position of the FRG, as a very important NATO member in actual weight and influence, could contribute substantially to the success of future talks."

"The USSR and the FRG have been cooperating for mutual benefit in the spheres of economy, science, technology and culture. Public relations have reached a high level. There are grounds for hope that the coming talks in Moscow will impart a big impetus to cooperation in all these spheres. The Soviet people welcomed with great satisfaction statements by West German political leaders on their desire to open a new chapter in relations between the two states. The Soviet side is ready for this and also intends to make its adequate contribution fo opening this chapter," said in conclusion the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Kohl, Delegation Depart FRG

LD2410075688 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 24 TASS—Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany left for the USSR for an official visit today at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

The head of the West German Government is accompanied by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign-

affairs, Rupert Scholz, defense minister, Heinz Riesenhuber, minister of scientific research and technology, Klaus Toepfer, minister for environment, environmental protection and the safety of nuclear reactors, Ignaz Kiechle, minister of food, agriculture and forestry, as well as representatives of West German business circles.

Helmut Kohl said in a number of statements and interview on the eve of the visit that relations with the Soviet Union were of pivotal importance for the Federal Republic of Germany. He pointed out the need for opening up a new page in those relations and spoke out in favour of the development of West German-Soviet cooperation in all the spheres.

Arrives in Moscow, Met by Ryzhkov

LD2410094288 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Helmut Kohl arrived here today for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

At Vnukovo-2 Airport he was met by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, other officials.

The official welcome ceremony is to be held at the St George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Political & Social

Bessmertnykh Named 1st Deputy Foreign Minister

LD2110173288 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the USSR has appointed Aleksandr Bessmertnykh first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

Draft Law on Constitutional Amendments Published

PM2110170188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 First Edition pp 1-2

["Draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR"]

[Text] With a view to the development of socialist democracy, self-government by the people, and the improvement of the electoral system, structure, and activity of soviets of people's deputies and organs of justice, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

I. To make the following amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution:

1. Chapter 12 is to read as follows:

"Chapter 12

"System and Principles of Activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies

"Article 89. The soviets of people's deputies—the congress of people's deputies and Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the congresses of people's deputies and supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and local soviets of people's deputies—kray soviets, oblast soviets, soviets of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, rayon soviets, city soviets, rayon soviets within cities, settlement soviets, and village soviets—make up an integrated system of representative organs of state power.

"Article 90. The term of office of soviets of people's deputies is 5 years.

"Elections to the soviets of people's deputies are to be set no later than 4 months prior to the expiry of the term of office of the corresponding organs of state power.

"Article 91. The most important questions of union-wide, republican, and local significance are resolved at sessions of the congresses of people's deputies and sessions of supreme soviets and local soviets.

"The congresses of people's deputies elect the supreme soviets and chairmen of supreme soviets, and local soviets elect the chairmen of the soviets. Supreme soviets and local soviets of people's deputies, with the exception of settlement and village soviets, form their own presidiums.

"Soviets of people's deputies form standing commissions and set up executive and administrative organs, as well as other organs accountable to them.

"Officials elected or appointed by soviets of people's deputies may not hold their posts for more than two terms in succession.

"Article 92. The soviets of people's deputies form organs of people's control, combining state control with social control by working people at enterprises, institutions, and state, cooperative, and other organizations.

"The organs of people's control verify the fulfillment of the requirements of legislation and state programs and targets; combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism and a departmental approach to the task, thriftlessness and extravagance, red tape, and bureaucracy; coordinate the work of other control organs; and promote the improvement of the structure and work of the state apparatus.

"Article 93. The soviets of people's deputies, directly and through the organs they set up, lead all sectors of state, economic, and sociocultural building, adopt decisions, ensure their execution, and exercise control over the implementation of decisions.

"Article 94. The activity of the soviets of people's deputies is based on collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions, glasnost, regular accountability of executive and management organs and other organs created by the soviets to them and to the population, and the broad involvement of citizens in participation in their work.

"The soviets of people's deputies and the organs set up by them take account of public opinion, submit the most important questions of statewide and local significance for discussion by citizens, and systematically inform citizens about their work and the decisions adopted."

2. Chapter 13 is to read as follows:

"Chapter 13

"The Electoral System

"Article 95. Elections of people's deputies take place in single-seat and multiseat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. In addition, in accordance with norms established by the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous repbulics, one-third of the people's deputies

of the USSR and people's deputies of union and autonomous republics are elected from social organizations—the CPSU, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other social organizations and associations of citizens of the USSR that have been set up in accordance with the procedure laid down by law and that have all-union or republican organs. Elections of people's deputies from social organizations take place at their congresses or conferences or at plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"Article 96. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are universal: USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations belongs to all delegates to their congresses or conferences or participants in plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"A citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 18 may be elected a people's deputy, and a citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected a USSR people's deputy.

"A citizen of the USSR may not be a deputy of more than two soviets of people's deputies simultaneously.

"Persons belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, and local soviet ispolkoms, with the exception of the chairmen of these organs, and also leaders of departments and leaders of local soviet ispolkom departments and administrations may not be deputies of the soviet to which they are subordinate. Judges, prosecutors, and state arbitrators may not be deputies of the soviet on whose territory they exercise their functions.

"Citizens who are mentally ill and are deemed by the court to be incompetent, persons confined to places of imprisonment, and also persons sent to compulsory treatment centers by a decision of the court do not participate in elections.

"Article 97. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal: A voter for each electoral okrug has one vote; voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

"In elections of people's deputies from a social organization, each delegate to its congress or conference or participant in the plenum has one vote, and they all participate in elections on an equal basis.

"Article 98. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct: People's deputies are elected by citizens directly.

"People's deputies from social organizations are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences or the participants in plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"Article 99. Voting at elections of people's deputies is secret: No monitoring of the voters' exercise of franchise is permitted.

"Article 100. Labor collectives, social organizations, voters' meetings at their place of residence, and servicemen's meetings in military units have the right to nominate candidates for people's deputy representing electoral okrugs, and the nomination of candidates for people's deputy from social organizations is the right of their all-union or republican organs, which take into account the opinion of these organizations' grassroots collectives and members.

"There are no restrictions on the number of candidate deputies during elections of people's deputies; any participant in an election meeting can propose for discussion any candidacy, including his own.

"Ballot papers include, as a rule, more candidates than there are seats available.

"During elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs, okrug election meetings can be held to discuss the candidate deputies nominated for the okrug and to make decisions on submitting candidates for registration to the relevant electoral commission.

"The expenses involved in holding elections of people's deputies are met by the state.

"Article 101. Preparations for elections are carried out openly and in an atmosphere of glasnost.

"The holding of elections is ensured by electoral commissions, which are composed of representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and voters' meetings at their place of residence and servicemen's meetings in military units.

"Citizens of the USSR, labor collectives, and social organizations are guaranteed the possibility of free and comprehensive discussion of candidate deputies' political, professional, and personal qualities, and also the right to campaign for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio.

"The procedure for holding elections of people's deputies is defined by laws of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics.

"Article 102. Voters and social organizations give mandates to their deputies.

"The appropriate soviets of people's deputies examine the mandates, take them into account when formulating economic and social development plans and drawing up the budget, organize the fulfillment of mandates, and inform citizens about their implementation."

3. Chapter 15 is to read as follows:

"Chapter 15

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 108. The supreme organ of USSR state power is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is empowered to adopt for its examination and decide any question within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

"The following are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies:

"1) the adoption and amendment of the USSR Constitution;

"2) the adoption of decisions on questions of the composition of the USSR; the ratification of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts within the union republics;

"3) the definition of the USSR state border; the ratification of changes in the borders between union republics;

"4) the definition of the basic guidelines of USSR domestic and foreign policy;

"5) the ratification of long-term state plans and highly important all-union programs for the economic and social development of the USSR;

"6) the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"7) the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"8) the election of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"9) the ratification of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

"10) the ratification of the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR prosecutor general, and the USSR chief state arbiter;

"11) the election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

"12) the repeal of legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme organs of state power in the union and autonomous republics if they are not in line with the USSR Constitution;

"13) the adoption of decisions on holding nationwide polls (referendums).

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopts USSR laws and resolutions by a majority of votes of the total number of USSR people's deputies.

"Article 109. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies consists of 2,250 deputies who are elected as follows:

"750 deputies from territorial electoral okrugs with an equal number of voters;

"750 deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs in accordance with the following norms: 32 deputies from each union republic, 11 deputies from each autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each autonomous oblast, and 1 deputy from each autonomous okrug;

"750 deputies from all-union social organizations in accordance with the following norms: the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, professional unions, and cooperative organizations—100 deputies each; the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, and creative unions—75 deputies each; other social organizations and associations of USSR citizens created in the legally established manner and possessing all-union organs—75 deputies.

"Article 110. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened for its first session no later than 2 months following the elections.

"On the representation of the credentials commission electable by it, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopts a decision to recognize the powers of the deputies, and—in the event of a violation of election legislation—to recognize the invalidity of individual deputies' election.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Routine sittings of the congress are held once a year. Extraordinary sittings are convened on the initiative of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on a proposal by one of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or no fewer than one-fifth of the USSR people's deputies, or on the initiative of a union republic in the shape of its supreme organ of state power.

"The first sitting of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies following the elections is chaired by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission and subsequently by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet or his or her deputy.

"Article 111. The USSR Supreme Soviet is the standing legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of USSR state power.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by secret vote from among the USSR people's deputies by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and is accountable to the latter.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet has two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which are numerically equal. The chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet possess equal rights.

"The chambers are elected at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by a general vote by the deputies. The Soviet of the Union is elected from among the USSR people's deputies from the territorial electoral okrugs and the USSR people's deputies from the social organizations which function or reside on the territory of the corresponding okrugs. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected from among the USSR people's deputies from the national-territorial electoral okrugs and the USSR people's deputies from the social organizations which function or reside on the territory of the corresponding republics or national formations, in accordance with the following norms: seven deputies from each union republic, four deputies from each autonomnous republic, two deputies from each autonomous oblast, and one deputy from each autonomous okrug.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies annually renews up to one-fifth of the membership of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

"Each chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet elects a chamber chairman and two deputy chairmen. The chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities chair the sittings of their corresponding chambers and are in charge of their internal proceedings.

"Joint sittings of the chambers are chaired by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his first deputy, or the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in turn.

"Article 112. The USSR Supreme Soviet is convened annually by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for regular spring and fall sessions, each lasting 3-4 months as a rule.

"Extraordinary sessions are convened by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at its initiative or at the proposal of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a union republic in the shape of its supreme organ of state power, or at least three deputies from either chamber.

"USSR Supreme Soviet sessions take the form of separate and joint sittings of the chambers and of sittings of the chambers' permanent commissions and the USSR Supreme Soviet committees held between sessions. A session is opened and closed at separate or joint sittings of the chambers.

"Upon the expiry of the term of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet retains its powers right until the formation of a new composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet by the newly elected USSR Congress of People's deputies.

"Article 113. The USSR Supreme Soviet:

"1) schedules elections of USSR people's deputies and ratifies the composition of the Central Electoral Commission;

"2) appoints the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ratifies the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers on his recommendation, or changes its composition; at the suggestion of the USSR Council of Ministers it creates or abolishes USSR ministries and USSR state committees;

"3) forms the USSR Defense Council and ratifies its composition; appoints and effects changes in the supreme command of the USSR Armed Forces;

"4) elects the USSR Committee for People's Control and the USSR Supreme Court, appoints the USSR general prosecutor and the USSR chief state arbiter; ratifies the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium and the USSR State Board of Arbitration Collegium;

"5) regularly hears reports by organs constituted or elected by it and by officials appointed by it;

"6) ensures the uniformity of legislative regulations throughout the territory of the USSR and lays the foundations for legislation by the USSR and the union republics;

"7) implements legislative regulation of property relations, the organization of the management of the national economy and of social and cultural building, the budget and finance system, labor remuneration and price formation, taxation, environmental protection and utilization of natural resources, the exercise of constitutional rights and freedoms and performance of duties by citizens, and other relations whose regulation falls within the jurisdiction of the USSR;

"8) interprets USSR laws;

"9) lays down common principles and determines basic guidelines for the activity of republic and local organs of state power and administration; determines the legal status of social organizations;

"10) examines the most important issues of national and interethnic relations;

"11) submits for ratification by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies draft long-term state plans and the most important all-union programs for the USSR's economic and social development; ratifies the state plans for

the USSR's economic and social development and the USSR state budget; monitors progress in the implementation of the plan and budget; ratifies reports on their performance; introduces amendments to the plan and budget whenever necessary;

"12) ratifies or denounces the USSR's international treaties;

"13) makes decisions on granting loans and economic and other assistance to foreign states;

"14) determines basic measures in the spheres of defense and of ensuring state security; proclaims universal or partial mobilization; proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the USSR or in the event of the need to meet international treaty obligations for mutual defense against aggression;

"15) makes decisions on the use of USSR Armed Forces contingents in the event of the need to meet international treaty obligations for the maintenance of peace and security;

"16) confers military ranks and diplomatic and other special ranks;

"17) institutes USSR orders and medals; confers honorary titles of the USSR;

"18) promulgates all-union acts of amnesty;

"19) is empowered to repeal resolutions and orders by the USSR Council of Ministers;

"20) repeals resolutions and orders by union republic councils of ministers in the event of their being inconsistent with the USSR Constitution and laws;

"21) decides other issues falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR, apart from issues which fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's deputies.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet adopts USSR laws and resolutions.

"Laws and resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet cannot be contrary to laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"Article 114. The right to initiate legislation at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet is vested in USSR people's deputies, the Soviet of the Union, the Soviet of Nationalities, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, union republics in the shape of their supreme organs of state power, USSR Supreme Soviet committees and its chambers' permament commissions, the USSR Committee for People's Control, the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR general prosecutor, and the USSR chief state arbiter.

"The right to initiate legislation is also vested in social organizations in the shape of their all-union organs, and in the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"Article 115. Draft laws submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet are discussed by its chambers at separate or joint sittings.

"A USSR law is deemed adopted if a majority of chamber members vote for it in each chamber.

"Draft laws and other important issues of state life can be submitted for nationwide discussion following a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted either on its own initiative or on a proposal by a union republic in the shape of its supreme organ of state power.

"Article 116. Each chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet is empowered to examine any questions falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The Soviet of the Union primarily examines questions of socioeconomic development and state building of general importance for the entire country; of the rights, freedoms, and duties of USSR citizens; of foreign policy; of the USSR's defense and state security.

"The Soviet of Nationalities primarily examines questions of the socioeconomic development of republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs; of national culture and international education; of ensuring national equality and the interests of nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups in combination with the general interests and needs of the Soviet multinational state; of improvements to legislation regulating national relations.

"Any resolution adopted by one of the chambers is remitted to the other chamber and, when approved by it, acquires the force of a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

"Article 117. In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities the question is handed over for resolution by a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on the basis of parity, after which the question is again examined by the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities at a joint session. If agreement is not reached even then, the question is passed on for consideration by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"Article 118. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is an organ accountable to the USSR Supreme Soviet which carries out the organization of the work of the USSR

Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other powers within the limits provided for by the USSR Constitution and laws.

"The following are ex officio members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the 15 deputy chairmen who are chairmen of the union republic supreme soviets, the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities, the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, and the chairmen of the standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is headed by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 119. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"1) convenes sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"2) organizes the preparation of sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"3) coordinates the activity of the standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"4) assists people's deputies of the USSR in the exercise of their powers and provides them with the necessary information;

"5) organizes the preparation and holding of nationwide votes (referendums), and also nationwide discussions of draft USSR laws and other very important questions of state life;

"6) confers the highest military titles, diplomatic ranks, and other special titles;

"7) awards USSR orders and medals and confers USSR titles of honor;

"8) admits people to citizenship of the USSR; resolves questions of the renunciation of USSR citizenship and deprivation of USSR citizenship and the granting of asylum;

"9) grants pardons;

"10) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the USSR in foreign states and in international organizations;

"11) receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"12) in the period between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, declares a general or partial mobilization; declares a state of war in the event of a military attack on the USSR or in the event of the necessity to fulfill international treaty commitments for mutual defense against aggression;

"13) in the interests of the defense of the USSR, declares a state of martial law or emergency in particular localities or for the whole country, with the imposition of special forms of administration where necessary.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issues decrees and adopts resolutions.

"Article 120. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is the highest official of the Soviet state and represents the USSR within the country and in international relations.

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from among USSR people's deputies by secret ballot for a term of 5 years and for not more than two successive terms. He may at any time be recalled by secret ballot by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 121. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

"1) exercises overall leadership of the preparation of questions that are subject to examination by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet; signs USSR laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"2) submits to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet reports on the state of the country and on important questions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy and of ensuring the defense capability and security of the USSR;

"3) submits to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the candidacy for election to the post of first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as proposals on the personnel of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

"4) submits to the USSR Supreme Soviet candidacies for appointment to the posts of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, USSR general prosecutor, and USSR chief state arbiter, and then submits these officials to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies for ratification;

"5) heads the USSR Defense Council;

"6) conducts talks and signs international treaties of the USSR;

"7) exercises other powers vested in him by the USSR Constitution and laws.

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet issues orders.

"The first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the deputy chairmen fulfill some of the chairman's functions on his authority, and deputize for the chairman in the event of his absence or inability to carry out his duties.

"Article 122. The Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities elect from among the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and other people's deputies of the USSR standing commissions of the chambers to carry out the drafting of laws and preliminary examination and preparation of matters falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also to promote the implementation of USSR laws and other decisions adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and to monitor the activity of state organs and organizations.

"For the same purposes, the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet may set up USSR Supreme Soviet committees on a basis of parity.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet and each of its chambers, when they deem it necessary, set up investigating, auditing, or other commissions on any matter.

"The standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet annually renew up to one-fifth of their membership.

"Article 123. Laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and resolutions of its chambers are adopted, as a rule, after preliminary discussion of the drafts by the appropriate standing commissions of the chambers or committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The election and appointment of officials belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR People's Control Committee, and the USSR Supreme Court, and also of the collegiums of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR State Board of Arbitration may take place given the existence of findings of the relevant standing commissions of the chambers or committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"All state and social organs, organizations, and officials must fulfill the requirements of the commissions of the chambers, commissions, and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and provide them with the necessary materials and documents.

"The recommendations of commissions and committees are subject to compulsory examination by state and social organs, institutions, and organizations. The results of the examination and the measures adopted must be reported to the commissions and committees within the time laid down by them.

"Article 124. At sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet the USSR people's deputy has the right to put questions to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the USSR Council of Ministers, and to the leaders of other organs formed or elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The organ or official to whom the question is put must provide an oral or written response at the Congress sitting or USSR Supreme Soviet session in question within no more than 3 days.

"USSR people's deputies are released from performing official or production duties for the specific period necessary to carry out their activity as deputies in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, commissions, and committees, and also among the population. USSR people's deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet are released from performing official or production duties for the entire period of their powers in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The USSR people's deputy cannot be subjected to criminal proceedings, arrested, or subjected to judicially imposed administrative penalties without the consent of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 125. The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from among specialists in the sphere of politics and the law and comprises a chairman, deputy chairman, and 13 members of the committee with a term of office of 10 years.

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee cannot simultaneously be members of the organs whose acts are overseen by the committee.

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are independent in performing their duties and are subordinate only to the USSR Constitution.

"The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee:

"1) on its own initiative or on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies submits to the Congress findings on the conformity with the USSR Constitution of draft USSR laws subject to examination by the Congress;

"2) on its own initiative, on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, or at the proposal of the USSR Supreme Soviet submits to the USSR Supreme Soviet findings on the conformity of acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers, and also of draft acts of these organs, with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies;

"3) watches over the conformity of union republics' constitutions and laws and resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the union republics' councils of ministers with the USSR Constitution and laws;

"4) on its own initiative, on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, or at the proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees, provides findings on the conformity of normative acts of other state organs and social organizations with the USSR Constitution and laws.

"When a legal act or particular provisions of it are found to contravene the USSR Constitution or laws, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee sends its findings to the organ that issued the act so that the violation can be eliminated. The sending of such findings suspends the execution of the act or particular provisions contravening the USSR Constitution or law.

"The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is entitled to make representations to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, or the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the repeal of acts by organs or officials accountable to them which contravene the USSR Constitution or law.

"The organization and procedure for the activity of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are defined by the Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR.

"Article 126. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Court monitor the activity of all their subordinate state organs.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet guides the activity of the USSR Committee for People's Control, which heads the system of people's control organs.

"The organization and procedure of work of people's control organs are laid down by the Law on People's Control in the USSR.

"Article 127. The procedure of work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and their organs is determined by the regulations of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and by other USSR laws promulgated on the basis of the USSR Constitution."

4. Articles 152, 153, and 155 of Chapter 20, "Courts and Arbitration," are to read as follows:

"Article 152. All courts in the USSR are constituted on the principle of the electivity of judges and lay assessors.

"People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts are elected by the corresponding rayon, city, and city rayon soviets of people's deputies. Lay assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are elected by open ballot at meetings of citizens held at their place of work or residence.

"Kray, oblast, city, and okrug courts are elected by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies, while supreme courts of union and autonomous republics and the USSR Supreme Court are elected by the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the USSR Supreme Soviet respectively.

"Military tribunal judges are elected by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and lay assessors by servicemen's meetings.

"Judges of all courts are elected for a term of 10 years. Lay assessors of all courts are elected for a term of 5 years.

"Judges and lay assessors are accountable to the voters or to the soviets of people's deputies which have elected them, report back to them, and can be recalled in accordance with the legally established procedure.

"Article 153. The USSR Supreme Court is the supreme judicial organ in the USSR and oversees the judicial activity of USSR courts and of union republic courts within the parameters laid down by the law.

"The USSR Supreme Court consists of a chairman, his deputies, members, and lay assessors. Chairmen of union republic supreme courts are ex officio members of the USSR Supreme Court.

"The organization and procedure of work of the USSR Supreme Court are determined by the Law on the USSR Supreme Court."

"Article 155. Judges and lay assessors are independent and are subordinate only to the law.

"Conditions are provided for judges and lay assessors to effectively exercise their rights and duties without hindrance. Any interference in the activity of judges and lay assessors in the administration of justice is impermissible.

"The immunity of judges and lay assessors and other guarantees of their independence are laid down by the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR and other USSR and union republic legislative acts."

II. Pursuant to the new edition of Chapters 12, 13, and 15 of the USSR Constitution, the ensuing amendments and additions are to be introduced in the following articles of the USSR Constitution:

1. First part of Article 77, following the words "within the jurisdiction of the USSR" add the words "at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

2. Third part of Article 103 is to read as follows:

"In their activity deputies are guided by statewide interests, take into account the requests of the electoral okrug's population and the interests of the social organization which has elected them, and strive to implement the mandates of the voters and the social organization."

3. Article 104 is to read as follows:

"Article 104. Deputies exercise their powers without, as a rule, interrupting their production or official activity.

"During sittings of a congress of people's deputies, a session of the supreme soviet or local soviet, and also for the exercise of deputy powers in other instances envisaged by the law, deputies are released from carrying out their production or official duties while retaining the average wage for their place of permanent work paid for out of state budget funds."

4. The first part of Article 105 is to read as follows:

"Deputies have the right of inquiry of the appropriate state organs and officials, which are obligated to respond to the inquiry at a congress of people's deputies or a session of the supreme soviet or local soviet."

5. Article 107 is to read as follows:

"Article 107. Deputies are obligated to report on their own work and the work of a congress of people's deputies or a supreme soviet or local soviet to the voters, the collectives and social organizations which nominated them to be candidate deputies, or to the social organization which elected them.

"Deputies who fail to justify the voters' trust may be recalled at any time in the legally established manner by a decision of the majority of voters or the social organization which elected them."

6. Article 130 is to read as follows:

"Article 130. The USSR Council of Ministers is responsible and answerable to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The newly formed USSR Council of Ministers submits for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet a program of forthcoming activity for its term of office.

"The USSR Council of Ministers regularly reports on its work to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

7. The first part of Article 131 is to read as follows:

"The USSR Council of Ministers is empowered to resolve all questions of state administration relating to the jurisdiction of the USSR insofar as they are not in accordance with the USSR Constitution, within the competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet."

8. Article 133 is to read as follows:

"Article 133. On the basis and in the execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers publishes resolutions and orders and verifies their implementation. The resolutions and orders of the USSR Council of Ministers are binding for implementation throughout the territory of the USSR."

9. In Article 135:

delete from the third part the words "the procedure for transferring enterprises and associations from republic and local jurisdiction to union jurisdiction is determined by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium";

in the fourth part replace the words "on the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium" with the words "on the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet."

10. Article 137 is to read as follows:

"Article 137. A union republic's supreme organ of state power is the union republic congress of people's deputies.

"The union republic congress of people's deputies is empowered to resolve all questions earmarked for the union republic's jurisdiction by the USSR Constitution and the constitution of the union republic.

"The adoption of the union republic's constitution and the introduction of amendments to to; the ratification of long-term state plans and the most important republic programs for the union republic's economic and social development; the election of the union republic's supreme soviet, its chairman, and other organs and

officials answerable to the congress; and the adoption of decisions on holding a plebiscite (referendum) are all effected exclusively by the union republic's congress of people's deputies.

"The union republic's congress of people's deputies adopts laws and resolutions."

11. Article 138 is to read as follows:

"Article 138. The supreme soviet of a union republic is the permanent legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of state power of the union republic. The supreme soviet of a union republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies of the union republic.

"The chairman of the supreme soviet of a union republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the union republic.

"The powers of the supreme soviet of the union republic, its presidium, and the chairman of the union republic supreme soviet are defined by the constitution of the union republic."

12. The second part of Article 139 is to read as follows:

"The council of ministers of a union republic is responsible to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the union republic and is accountable to them."

13. Article 143 is to read as follows:

"Article 143. The supreme organ of state power of an autonomous republic is the congress of people's deputies of the autonomous republic.

"The adoption of the constitution of the autonomous republic and amendments to it; the ratification of long-term state plans and major republican programs for the economic and social development of the autonomous republic; and the election of the autonomous republic supreme soviet, its chairman, and other organs and officials accountable to the congress are carried out exclusively by the congress of people's deputies of the autonomous republic.

"The congress of people's deputies of an autonomous republic adopts laws and resolutions."

14. Article 144 is to read as follows:

"Article 144. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is the permanent legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of state power of the autonomous republic. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies of the autonomous republic.

"The chairman of the supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

"The council of ministers of an autonomous republic is responsible to the congress of people's deputies and supreme soviet of the autonomous republic and is accountable to them."

15. Articles 149 and 150 are to read as follows:

"Article 149. The work of kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, rayon, city, and city rayon soviets of people's deputies is organized by their presidiums, headed by the chairmen of the soviets, and in settlement and village soviets by the chairmen of those soviets.

"Article 150. The executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies are the executive committees elected by them.

"Executive committees report at least once a year to the soviets that elected them, and also to meetings of labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence.

"Executive committees of local soviets are directly accountable both to the soviet that elected them and to the higher executive and administrative organ."

16. Article 165 is to read as follows:

"Article 165. The USSR prosecutor general is responsible to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and is accountable to them."

17. Article 174 is to read as follows:

"Article 174. The amendment of the USSR Constitution takes place by a decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopted by a majority of at least two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the USSR."

Decree on Amendments Adopted

PM2210120088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 October 88 Second Edition p 1

["Resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the Draft USSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. The drafts of a USSR law on amendments and additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and a USSR law on elections of people's deputies of the USSR, presented by the CPSU Central Committee to the USSR Supreme Soviet, are to be submitted for

nationwide discussion. On 22 October 1988, the central, republican, kray, and oblast newspapers will publish the draft of the USSR law on amendments and additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR, and on 23d October the draft of the USSR law on elections of people's deputies of the USSR will be published.

2. The Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be instructed to consider the proposals and comments received during the nationwide discussion of the drafts and to submit corresponding proposals.

3. The presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics will summarize within the republics the proposals and comments submitted on the draft laws by people's deputies, citizens, labor collectives, public organizations, and the mass media.

4. The central bodies of the press, television, and radio will summarize the proposals and comments received by them concerning the draft laws.

5. Materials summarizing the proposals and comments on the drafts of the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the USSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR will be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium once every 5 days until 25 November 1988.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin

21 October 1988

Constitutional Changes Discussed

LD2310004788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] The press today publishes the draft law on changes and additions to the Constitution, the USSR's fundamental law. These changes and additions are intended to be introduced with the aim of developing socialist democracy and self-government by the people and of improving the electoral system and the structure and activity of soviets of people's deputies and the judiciary bodies. Tomorrow the press will carry the draft law on elections of USSR people's deputies. As stipulated by a resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, these two most important documents are being put forward for discussion by all the people. In the same resolution, the commissions of legislative proposals of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet are charged with examining proposals and comments which come in during the discussion by all the people and to submit appropriate proposals. The presidiums of the union republic supreme soviets are also to bring together all the ideas the working people put forward on the draft laws. The proposals and comments will be brought together and presented at the Presidium of the country's Supreme Soviet once every 5 days until 25 November.

A resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on certain urgent measures to implement the reform of the country's political system stresses that the conference extensively discussed and adopted major decisions regarding the deepening of restructuring, the reform of the political system, and the further democratization of the party and society. These have vast political significance for the country's destiny and are an inalienable component of restructuring and, simultaneously, a powerful accelerator of it; and they open up the possibility for society to go confidentally down the path of revolutionary renewal and to strengthen the role of the party as a political vanguard. The conference favored submitting draft bills on restructuring local soviet bodies for discussion at a routine session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Necessary additions and changes should be made to the USSR Constitution. Elections should be organized and a congress of people's deputies held in April 1989, at which a new body of state power will be formed. Elections to the republics' local soviets are to be held and leading bodies at a local level formed on this basis in autumn 1989. Thus, the publication today of a draft law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution is a practical implementation of the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Rogachev on Proposed Changes

LD2110231388 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Yuriy Rogachev commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] A bill of amendments to the Constitution has been published in the USSR for nationwide discussion. Yuriy Rogachev now comments:

The bill is one of major moves under the reform of the Soviet political system launched by last summer's 19th national Communist Party conference. The resolution of the democratization of Soviet society and the reform of the political system says the main aim is to give the people and their deputies the right to decide all national issues and put all undertakings under their full and effective control. The reform of the political system has required amendments to the fundamental law—the Constitution. A special commission led by Mikhail Gorbachev was formed to draft these amendments. The results of the commission's work have now been made public for national discussion.

The bill takes over 20 pages, so it is impossible to mention all amendments in a short commentary. The essence of many proposals can be expressed in one word: democratization. Proposed changes allow the restoring the soviets as a full-fledged authority and the basis of the socialist state and popular civil government. The soviets will be entrusted with the power to decide all major government, economic, social, and cultural issues. Elective governing bodies are going to be placed in a commanding position in relation to executive bodies and the apparatus. The bill says that executive committees shall report to the soviets that have elected them no less than once a year and also to meetings of labor staffs and voters in constituencies. Any official elected or appointed by the soviets of peoples deputies shall remain in office for no more than two terms in a row, that is for a total of 10 years.

An unambiguous restriction is going to be imposed on the ministers, the leaders of other government agencies, and members of the apparatus of the soviets at all levels. These people shall not be members of the soviet they are subordinated to. The bill suggests major amendments to the structure of state power. The congress of peoples deputies is going to be made the highest body of state authority. The Supreme Soviet will become a permanently working legislative, administrative, and supervisory body of state power. Two thousand two hundred and fifty delegates are going to be elected to future congresses of peoples deputies. One-third will come from territorial constituencies having equal numbers of voters, one-third will be elected from ethnic territorial constituencies on the principle of equal representation, and one-third from nongovernmental organizations. The congress shall, by secret ballot, elect a chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of 5 years, but for no more than two terms in a row. The Supreme Soviet chairman shall be the highest Soviet official and represent the Soviet state at home and in international relations.

The establishment of a constitutional inspection is going to become a new important element. The bill suggests that to such an inspection political experts and lawyers shall be elected for a term of 10 years. The bill says that all those elected to the constitutional inspection shall be independent in performing their duties and subordinate only to the Constitution. They will be empowered to inquire into whether government bodies and public organizations comply with the Constitution and other Soviet laws.

Democratic changes are going to be made to the way in which Soviet courts and arbitration bodies are formed and operate. The bill published for national discussion will surely create major opportunities for reforming the political system and foster the democratization of Soviet society. Besides, as the bill will be discussed in the press, on radio, and television, and at labor staffs, more amendments will be made. The discussion of the political reform, which has been under way for several months, is evidence of this. In a word, it is the people who will pass a final judgement on amendments to the Constitution.

Draft Law on Elections of People's Deputies

PM2210161088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 88 First Edition pp 1-3

["Draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] I. General Provisions [subhead]

Article 1. Basic principles of elections of USSR people's deputies

Elections of USSR people's deputies take place in single-seat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. In addition, in accordance with the norms laid down by the USSR Constitution, one-third of USSR people's deputies are elected from all-union social organizations—the CPSU, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other social organizations and associations of USSR citizens set up in accordance with the procedure established by law and having all-union organs. Elections of people's deputies from social organizations take place at their congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 2: Universal suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies are universal: USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations belongs to all delegates to their congresses or conferences or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs.

A USSR citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected a USSR people's deputy.

Any direct or indirect restrictions on the electoral rights of USSR citizens on the grounds of origin, social position, property, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, length of residence in a given locality, or type or nature of occupation are prohibited.

Mentally ill citizens judged incompetent by the court, persons detained in places of imprisonment, and also persons sent to places of compulsory treatment by a decision of the court do not participate in elections.

Article 3. Equal suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal: A voter in each electoral okrug has one vote; voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

In elections of people's deputies from a social organization each delegate to its congress or conference or participant in the plenum has one vote, and all participate in the elections on an equal basis.

Women and men have equal electoral rights.

Servicemen enjoy electoral rights equally with all citizens.

Article 4. Direct suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct [pryamoy]: People's deputies are elected by the citizens directly [neposredstvenno].

People's deputies from social organizations are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences or by the participants in plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 5. Secret ballot

Voting at elections of USSR people's deputies is secret: No monitoring of the voters' exercise of franchise is permitted.

Article 6. Conduct of elections by electoral commissions

The conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies is carried out by electoral commissions made up of representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units.

Article 7. Glasnost in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies

The preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies are carried out by electoral commissions, labor collectives, and social organizations openly and publicly [otkryto i glasno].

Electoral commissions inform citizens about their work, the formation of electoral okrugs, the composition, whereabouts, and working times of electoral commissions, and electoral rolls. Electoral commissions inform citizens of the results of the registration of candidate deputies, biographical information on the candidate deputies registered, the results of the vote on each candidate, and the outcome of the elections.

Representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters, agents, and also representatives of the press, television, and radio have the right to attend sessions of electoral commissions, including sessions relating to the registration of candidate deputies, the counting of votes in the electoral ward, the determination of the results of the elections for the okrug, and the summing up of the overall results of the elections.

The mass media publicize the course of the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies, and they are guaranteed unhindered access to all meetings and sessions connected with the elections. Electoral commissions, state and social organs, and labor collectives make available to them information connected with the preparation and conduct of the elections.

Article 8. The participation of citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies

USSR citizens take part in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies through labor collectives, social organizations, meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units, and okrug election meetings.

Labor collectives and social organizations participate in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies both through their representatives on electoral commissions and directly.

Article 9. The right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy

The right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy for electoral okrugs belongs to the labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units, and the right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations belongs to their all-union organs, which take into account the opinions of the grass-roots collectives and members of those organizations.

In the holding of elections of people's deputies there is no limit on the number of candidate deputies; as a rule more candidates than there are seats are included on the ballot paper.

USSR citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations are guaranteed the opportunity for free, all-around discussion of the political, practical, and personal qualities of candidate deputies, as well as the right to campaign for or against a candidate at meetings and in the press and on television and radio.

Article 10. Mandates given by voters and social organizations to USSR people's deputies

Voters and social organizations give mandates to their deputies.

The procedure for submitting, summarizing, examining, and organizing the fulfillment of mandates is laid down by a USSR law.

Article 11. Incompatibility of the status of USSR people's deputy with an official position

Persons belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers with the exception of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of USSR departments, the USSR general prosecutor and members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium, the chairman and members of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR chief state arbiter and USSR state arbiters, members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, and leaders of other state organs formed by and accountable to the USSR's highest organs of state power cannot be USSR people's deputies simultaneously.

Article 12. Expenditure in connection with elections of USSR people's deputies. Material provision for elections

Expenditure in connection with the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies is at the state's expense.

Enterprises, institutions, and organizations and state and social organs make available to electoral commissions the premises and equipment necessary for the preparation and conduct of elections.

Candidates for USSR people's deputy and voters do not meet the expenses involved in preparing for and holding elections.

Article 13. Liability for violating the legislation on elections of USSR people's deputies

Persons using violence, deception, threats or other means to impede USSR citizens' free exercise of their right to elect and be elected as USSR people's deputies and to conduct election campaigning, and also members of electoral commissions and officials of state and social organs who have forged election documents, deliberately miscounted votes, violated the secrecy of the ballot, or committed other violations of the present law bear the liability prescribed by the law. Proceedings are also taken against persons who have published or otherwise disseminated false information about a candidate deputy.

II. The Procedure for Scheduling Elections and Forming Electoral Okrugs [subhead]

Article 14. The scheduling of elections of USSR people's deputies

Elections of USSR people's deputies are scheduled by the USSR Supreme Soviet no later than 4 months before the expiry of the term of office of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs are held, as a rule, on a nonworking day in the winter-spring period.

Elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are held at the organizations' congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs no earlier than 20 days before election day and no later than election day for the electoral okrugs.

Announcements of election day for electoral okrugs and the date and place of social organizations' congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs are published in the press.

Article 15. The formation of electoral okrugs

In order to elect USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs 750 territorial and 750 national-territorial electoral okrugs are formed.

Electoral okrugs are formed by the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies at the representation of the union republics' supreme organs of state power.

One USSR people's deputy is elected per electoral okrug.

Lists of electoral okrugs indicating their borders and the locations of okrug electoral commissions are published by the Central Electoral Commission no later than the 10th day after the scheduling of the elections.

Article 16. Territorial electoral okrugs

Territorial electoral okrugs for elections of USSR people's deputies are formed with equal numbers of voters throughout the USSR's territory. The administrative territorial division of union republics is taken into account when defining the borders of electoral okrugs. The norm for voters per electoral okrug is established for each election by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 17. National-territorial electoral okrugs

National-territorial electoral okrugs for elections of USSR people's deputies are formed according to the following norms: 32 okrugs in each union republic, 11 okrugs in each autonomous republic, 5 okrugs in each autonomous oblast, and 1 electoral okrug in each autonomous okrug.

National-territorial electoral okrugs are formed with equal numbers of voters throughout the territory of the relevant union republic, autonomous republic, or autonomous oblast. The territory of an autonomous okrug constitutes one national-territorial electoral okrug.

Article 18. Norms for the representation of social organizations in elections of USSR people's deputies

All-union social organizations elect 750 USSR people's deputies;

the CPSU elects 100 deputies;

USSR trade unions elect 100 deputies;

cooperative organizations (kolkhozes, consumer societies, and other cooperative associations of citizens) elect 100 deputies;

the All-Union Lenin Komsomol elects 75 deputies;

women's councils, united by the Soviet Women's Committee, elect 75 deputies;

organizations of war and labor veterans, united by their All-Union Council, elect 75 deputies;

associations of scientific workers (all-union academy institutions and scientific societies and associations), the USSR Union of scientific and Engineering Societies, and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers elect 75 deputies;

USSR creative unions (Union of Architects, Union of Designers, Union of Journalists, Union of Cinematographers, Union of Composers, Union of Writers, Union of Theater Workers, Union of Artists) elect 75 deputies;

other legally constituted social organizations and associations of USSR citizens having all-union organs elect 75 deputies.

Within the limits of the aforementioned norms the representation of each social organization is established at a joint sitting of these organizations' leading elected organs or of their agents, convened by the Central Electoral Commission.

III. Electoral Wards [subhead]

Article 19. The formation of electoral wards

In order to conduct the ballot and count the votes in elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs the territory of the rayons, cities, and city rayons forming the electoral okrugs is divided into electoral wards, which are the same for elections of people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial okrugs. Electoral wards are also formed in military units and form part of the electoral okrugs at the units' location.

Electoral wards can be formed in sanatoriums and rest homes, in hospitals and other in-patient medical institutions, at major railroad and motor vehicle stations, at airports, seaports, and river ports, in hotels, and also on ships that are on a voyage on election day; these wards form part of the electoral okrugs at their location or at the ship's port of registration, respectively. Electoral wards can be formed at polar stations and, if the necessary conditions exist for this, at Soviet institutions abroad.

Article 20. The procedure and norm for the formation of electoral wards

Electoral wards are formed by rayon, city (excluding cities under rayon jurisdiction), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies by agreement with okrug electoral commissions. Aboard ships which are on voyage on election day electoral wards are formed by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies for the place in which the ship's port of registration is located. In military units electoral wards are formed by local soviets of people's deputies in response to an application from unit or troop formation commanders.

Electoral wards are to be formed not later than 2 months before elections. In military units and also at major railroad and motor vehicle stations, airports, sea and river ports, and hotels, aboard ships which are on voyage on election day, and at polar stations electoral wards are to be formed by the same deadline, or in exceptional circumstances no later than 5 days before the elections.

Electoral wards are to be formed with no less than 20 and no more than 3,000 voters.

The corresponding local soviet of people's deputies informs the voters of the boundaries of each electoral ward, indicating the location of the ward electoral commission and the place where voting is to take place.

IV. Electoral Commissions [subhead]

Article 21. The system of electoral commissions

To carry out elections of USSR people's deputies the following electoral commissions are formed:

The Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies;

okrug electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from territorial electoral okrugs;

okrug electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs;

ward electoral commissions;

electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations.

Article 22. The formation of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies is formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet taking account of proposals from the supreme organs of state power of the union republics and from the all-union organs of social organizations no later than 4 months before the elections and consists of a chairman, 2 deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 31 commission members.

The Central Electoral Commission's term of office is 5 years.

Article 23. The powers of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies:

1) Supervises the implementation of this law throughout the territory of the USSR and ensures its uniform application; when necessary makes representations about the interpretation of this law to the USSR Supreme Soviet;

2) directs the activity of electoral commissions; determines the procedure for alterng the composition of electoral commission;

3) forms territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs;

4) resolves questions relating to the attachment of electoral wards situated outside the borders of the USSR to electoral okrugs on the territory of the USSR;

5) distributes funds among electoral commissions; supervises the provision of premises, transport, and communications for electoral commissions and examines other questions relating to the provision of material and technical backup for elections;

6) prescribes the forms for ballot papers for elections of USSR people's deputies, electoral rolls, minutes of preelection meetings and sittings of electoral commissions, and other electoral documents; the models to be used for ballot boxes and electoral commission seals; and the procedure for storing electoral documents;

7) hears reports from USSR ministries, state committees, and departments and other state and social organizations on questions linked with the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies;

8) registers elected deputies, sums up election results for the country as a whole, and publishes in the press a report on the results of elections and a list of elected USSR people's deputies;

9) makes available to the Credentials Commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the documentation necessary to verify deputies' credentials;

10) resolves questions linked with the conduct of repeat elections;

11) resolves questions linked with organizing the recall of USSR people's deputies;

12) schedules elections for USSR people's deputies to replace former deputies and ensures that they are held;

13) examines statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of electoral commissions and makes final decisions on them;

14) carries out other powers in accordance with this and other USSR laws.

Article 24. The formation of okrug electoral commissions

An okrug electoral commission is formed in each territorial and national-territorial electoral okrug for elections of USSR people's deputies no later than 3 and ½ months before elections and consists of 11-17 members.

Representatives are nominated for okrug electoral commissions by labor collectives, their councils, republic, kray, oblast, okrug (autonomous okrug), rayon, city, and city rayon organs of social organizations, neighborhood meetings of voters, and unit meetings of servicemen. To determine the labor collectives and social organizations which can nominate representatives for commissions the corresponding soviets of people's deputies can, if necessary, conduct conferences of representatives of labor collectives and social organizations in the electoral okrug.

Okrug electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies in territorial electoral okrugs are formed:

in union republics divided into krays and oblasts and in cities under republic jurisdiction—by the corresponding kray, oblast, or city soviet of people's deputies;

in union republics not divided into krays and oblasts and in autonomous republics—by the supreme organs of state power in the corresponding union or autonomous republic.

Okrug electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs are formed by, respectively, the organs of supreme state power of the union or autonomous republic or the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug.

Article 25. Powers of okrug electoral commissions

The okrug electoral commission for the election of USSR people's deputies from territorial or national-territorial electoral okrugs:

1) monitors the implementation of this law in the okrug's territory;

2) directs the activity of ward electoral commissions;

3) receives reports from executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies and from enterprise, institution, and organization leaders on questions concerning the preparation and conduct of elections;

4) supervises the compilation of electoral rolls and their publication for universal information;

5) organizes the nomination of candidate deputies;

6) holds okrug election campaign meetings;

7) registers the nominated candidate deputies and issues them with the appropriate certificates, and ensures the publication of posters containing biographical details of the candidate deputies;

8) organizes meetings between candidate deputies and voters jointly with labor collectives and social organizations;

9) ratifies the wording on the ballot paper for the electoral okrug and ensures the preparation of ballot papers and their delivery to ward electoral commissions;

10) determines and publishes in the press the election results for the electoral okrug and issues certificates to the elected deputies;

11) organizes repeat ballots and repeat elections and elections to replace former deputies;

12) decides questions concerning the process of a deputy's recall;

13) examines applications and appeals against decisions and actions by ward electoral commissions and makes decisions on them;

14) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 26. The formation of ward electoral commissions

The ward electoral commission—the same one for the election of deputies from both territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs—is formed not later than 45 days prior to the elections and comprises 5-19 members. Whenever necessary, the membership of a ward electoral commission can be increased.

Labor collectives, labor collective councils, rayon, city, and city rayon organs of social organizations and their primary organizations, organs of the population's independent social activity, and neighborhood meetings of voters and unit meetings of servicemen nominate representatives for membership of ward electoral commissions.

Ward electoral commissions are formed by rayon, city (except in cities under rayon jurisdiction), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies.

Article 27. Powers of the ward electoral commission

The ward electoral commission:

1) compiles the ward electoral roll;

2) brings the electoral roll to the voters' attention, accepts and examines applications concerning incorrect roll entries, and decides on appropriate amendments to it;

3) issues voters with right to vote certificates;

4) notifies the population of the date of elections and the location of polling places;

5) ensures the preparation of polling premises and ballot boxes;

6) organizes voting in the ward on election day;

7) counts the votes cast in the electoral ward;

8) examines applications and complaints concerning questions relating to the preparations for the election and the organization of voting, and makes decisions on them;

9) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 28. The formation of electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

Electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are formed in electoral okrugs no later than 3 and ½ months prior to election day and consist of 7-13 members of these organizations' all-Union organs.

When necessary electoral commissions from multiple social organizations can be formed.

Article 29. Powers of electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

The electoral commission for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations:

1) registers nominated candidate deputies and issues them with the relevant certificates;

2) publishes the list of candidate deputies;

3) sums up the proposals and remarks made about candidate deputies by grassroots collectives and members of social organizations and by citizens, and reports on them to the social organization's congress or conference or to a plenum of its all-Union organ;

4) ratifies the wording on the ballot paper for the election of USSR people's deputies;

5) ensures the preparation of polling premises and ballot boxes and organizes voting at the social organization's congress or conference or at a plenum of its all-Union organ;

6) counts the number of votes cast, determines the results of the election of deputies, and issues certificates to the elected deputies;

7) organizes repeat ballots and elections to replace former deputies;

8) decides questions concerning the process of deputies' recall;

9) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 30. Organization of the work of electoral commissions

The chairman, deputy chairmen, and secretary of the electoral commission are elected at a sitting of the commission concerned.

The sittings of electoral commissions have a quorom [pravomochnyy] if they are attended by at least two-thirds of the commission's members. The commission's decisions are adopted by open vote and by majority vote of the commission's total membership. Commission members disagreeing with the decision are entitled to express a minority opinion to be appended in writing to the proceedings report.

Decisions adopted by electoral commissions within the bounds of their competence are be binding on all state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Appeals against the decisions and actions of an electoral commission may be lodged with a superior electoral commission; in cases envisaged by this law appeals may also be made to the courts.

During the period of the preparation and holding of elections electoral commission members may, by the decision of an electoral commission, be released from their production or service duties while retaining their average salary, to be paid out of the funds allocated for holding the elections.

Article 31. Assistance to electoral commissions in implementing their powers

State and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obliged to assist electoral commissions in the implementation of their powers and to provide the information and materials they require for their work.

With regard to questions relating to the preparation and holding of elections, electoral commissions are entitled to approach state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials, which are obliged to examine the question raised and give the electoral commission an answer within no more than 3 days.

V. Electoral Rolls [subhead]

Article 32. Electoral rolls and the procedure for their compilation

General electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs are drawn up for each electoral ward and signed by the chairman and secretary of the ward electoral commission. Ward electoral commissions may involve representatives of the public in the compilation of the rolls.

Executive committees of city, city rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies register voters and pass on to ward electoral commissions the information about voters living on the relevant territory required for the compilation of electoral rolls.

Rolls of serviceman-voters in military units, members of service families, and other voters—should they live in areas where military units are deployed—are compiled on the basis of information supplied by military unit commanders. Servicemen living outside military units are included on electoral rolls on the basis of their place of residence in line with the general procedure.

Electoral rolls for electoral wards covering Soviet establishments abroad, ships that are on voyage on election day, rest homes, sanatoriums, hospitals, and other inpatient medical establishments are compiled on the basis of information supplied by the leaders of the aforesaid institutions and ship captains.

Voters' names are listed on the electoral roll in an order convenient for the organization of the voting.

Article 33. Procedure for including citizens on electoral rolls

Electoral rolls include all USSR citizens aged 18 on election day who are resident (permanently or temporarily) at the time of compilation of the list on the territory of a given electoral ward and entitled to vote.

Voters cannot be included on electoral rolls for other electoral wards.

Article 34. Citizens' inspection of electoral rolls and the right to appeal against inaccuracies on electoral rolls

Electoral rolls are submitted for general inspection 10 days before the elections, and 2 days before the elections at electoral wards based on rest homes, sanatoriums, hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments.

Citizens are allowed to inspect the electoral roll and check that it has been compiled accurately at the ward electoral commission building.

All citizens are entitled to appeal against their omission from, incorrect inclusion on, or exclusion from the roll and to lodge complaints about any inaccuracies on the roll with regard to voter information. Complaints about inaccuracies on the roll are examined by the ward electoral commission, which is obliged to examine the complaint, make the necessary corrections to the roll, or provide the parties lodging the complaint with a copy of the commission's sound reasons for its rejection of it within no more than 2 days, or, on the eve of election day, immediately. An appeal may be lodged against this decision with the rayon (city) people's court, which must examine the appeal within 3 days. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. Corrections to electoral rolls in accordance with a court decision are carried out immediately by the ward electoral commission.

Article 35. Voting entitlement certificates. Additional electoral rolls

If voters change their place of residence [prebyvaniye] in the period between the submission of electoral rolls for general inspection and election day, the ward electoral commission—at the voters' request and on presentation of a passport or other identification—shall issue the voters with a voting entitlement certificate. A corresponding note is made on the electoral roll.

On the basis of the voting certificate the voters shall be listed on election day on an additional electoral roll at the electoral ward covering their place of residence.

Article 36. Electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations and the procedure governing their compilation

Electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are compiled by the social organization's all-Union organ and passed on to the electoral commission no later than 3 days before the elections.

The electoral roll includes delegates to the social organization's congress and conference or participants in the plenum of its all-Union organ. All questions relating to inclusion on the electoral roll are resolved by the electoral commission. Names of voters are listed on the roll in alphabetical order.

VI. Nomination and Registration of Candidates for USSR People's Deputy [subhead]

Article 37. Procedure for nominating candidates for USSR people's deputy for electoral okrugs

The nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy for territorial and national territorial electoral okrugs begins 3 months and ends 2 months before the elections.

The nomination of candidate deputies is carried out by labor collectives with, as a rule, at least 500 workers at meetings of the collectives. By agreement with the relevant okrug electoral commission, labor collectives with a smaller number of workers may hold combined meetings. In large labor collectives meetings may take place in shops, sections, shifts, and other subdivisions.

The nomination of candidate deputies for electoral okrugs from social organizations is carried out by their republican, kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, city, or city rayon organs.

Meetings of voters at places of residence to nominate candidate deputies are convened by the relevant soviets of people's deputies in conjunction with okrug electoral commissions. A meeting has a quorum if it is attended by at least 500 voters living in the territory of the electoral okrug.

Meetings of servicemen to nominate candidate deputies are convened by the military units' command.

The conditions for unrestricted nomination of candidates are created at meetings. Every participant in a meeting has the right to submit proposals on candidate deputies, participate in discussing them, support the proposed candidacies, or submit proposals for their withdrawal. A participant in a meeting may propose his own candidacy for discussion as a candidate deputy. The decision to nominate a candidate deputy is adopted at the meeting by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the meeting.

A candidate is considered nominated if more than one-half of the participants in the meeting or a majority of the total membership of the relevant organ of a social organization vote for him. A protocol on the nomination of a candidate deputy is drawn up. The candidate deputy is notified of the decision adopted.

Those nominated as candidates for USSR people's deputy are, as a rule, citizens working or living: for elections from territorial electoral okrugs—in the territory of the relevant electoral okrug; for elections from national territorial okrugs—in the territory of the relevant union or autonomous republic, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug.

A USSR citizen may not be a deputy of more than two soviets of people's deputies simultaneously.

Article 38. The okrug election meeting

In accordance with the USSR Constitution, an okrug election meeting may be held in order to discuss the candidates for USSR people's deputy nominated for the electoral okrug and adopt decisions on the submission of candidates to the relevant electoral commission for registration. The meeting is convened by the okrug electoral commission and is held after the end of nomintion of candidate deputies. If no more than two candidate deputies have been nominated for the okrug, an okrug election meeting is not held.

The participants in the okrug election meeting are delegated by the labor collectives, organs of social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units that nominated the candidate deputies, in equal numbers according to the norms laid down by the okrug electoral commission. At least one-half of the participants in the meeting must be voters from the electoral okrug in question who did not take part in nominating the candidate deputies. They are delegated by labor collectives and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units.

A list of all the candidate deputies nominated for the okrug in question and basic information about them are submitted beforehand to the participants in the okrug election meeting.

At the meeting the candidate deputy is given the opportunity to set forth his program for his future activity. Any participant in the meeting has the right to discuss the candidate deputies and submit his proposals concerning them.

The decision to submit candidate deputies for registration is taken by a majority of votes of the participants in the meeting by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the meeting. A decision is considered adopted if more than one-half of the participants in the meeting vote for it. The results of the discussion of the candidate deputies are reflected in the minutes of the meeting.

An appeal against the meeting's decision may be lodged at the okrug electoral commission within 3 days.

Article 39. Procedure for nominating candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations

The nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations takes place at plenums of their all-union organs in accordance with the requirements of the present law. Plenums to nominate candidate deputies are held no later than 2 months before the date of the elections in the social organization concerned.

In the course of the nomination of candidate deputies, the conditions are created for unrestricted nomination of candidacies. The participants in plenums may propose for discussion as a candidate deputy any candidacy, including their own, take part in the discussion of candidate deputies, and support the proposed candidacies or submit proposals for their withdrawal.

Any member of a social organization or participant in a foundation or other association of USSR citizens, including religious figures, may be nominated as candidate for USSR people's deputy from that organization.

The decision on the nomination of candidate deputies is taken by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the plenums of the all-union organs of social organizations. Candidates are considered nominated if more than one-half of the members of the relevant organs vote for them. Decisions adopted by plenums of the all-union organs of social organizations are communicated to the candidate deputies.

The plenums make decisions to convene congresses, conferences, or all-Union organ plenums to conduct elections of USSR people's deputies from the respective social organizations.

Article 40. Registration of candidates for USSR people's deputy

Candidates for USSR people's deputy from electoral okrugs are registered by okrug electoral commissions following applications by labor collectives, social organization organs, neighborhood meetings of voters, or unit meetings of servicemen which have nominated the candidate deputies, or by the okrug election campaign meeting if held.

Candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations are registered by electoral commissions for election from social organizations following an application by their all-Union organs.

The registration of candidate deputies in electoral okrugs begins 2 months and ends 1 month prior to election day, and from social organizations not later than the 5th day following the plenum of their all-Union organs held to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy.

The decision to register candidate deputies is made on the basis of the following documents: the proceedings report of the meeting held to nominate candidate deputies for the respective electoral okrug and proceedings report of the okrug election campaign meeting if held, decisions by the all-Union organ of a social organization, and also declarations by candidate deputies confirming their consent to stand for election in the respective electoral organ or by the social organization. The electoral commission compiles a protocol on the registration of candidate deputies and this protocol, together with the candidate deputies' declarations, is filed with the Central Electoral Commission.

The respective electoral commission is obligated to register all candidate deputies nominated in conformity with the demands of this law. Appeals against refusal to register can be filed within a 3-day period with the Central Electoral Commission.

A candidate deputy can stand for election in only one territorial or national-territorial electoral okrug or from one social organization.

A candidate deputy cannot be a member of the Central Electoral Commission or of an okrug or ward electoral commission in the electoral okrug where he has been nominated or of the electoral commission for elections from the social organization where he has been nominated. Any person nominated as a candidate deputy who is also a member of one of the aforementioned commissions is deemed to be released of his duties on the commission from the moment he is registered as a candidate deputy.

The respective electoral commission publishes in the press, not later than the 4th day following the registration of candidate deputies, a notification of registration giving each candidate deputy's surname, given name, and patronymic, year of birth, office held (occupation), and place of employment.

Article 41. Revocation of decision to nominate a candidate for USSR people's deputy. Withdrawal of candidacy by candidate

A labor collective, social organization organ, neighborhood meeting of voters, unit meeting of servicemen, or social organization's all-Union organ which has nominated a candidate for USSR people's deputy is entitled at any time prior to the election to revoke its decision to nominate the candidate deputy. A decision on this question is made according to the procedure laid down for the nomination of candidate deputies and is submitted to the respective electoral commission.

A candidate deputy can withdraw his candidacy at any time prior to the election by filing an application to this effect with the respective electoral commission.

Article 42. Procedure for the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy to replace former deputies

If candidates for USSR people's deputy pull out after the expiry of the deadline for the registration of candidate deputies and if no other candidates remain in the electoral okrug, the okrug electoral commission requests the electoral okrug's labor collectives and voters to nominate new candidate deputies. If candidate deputies pull out less than 1 month before election day, elections for deputy from the respective electoral okrug are held within 2 months following the general elections.

If candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations pull out before the election and the total number of remaining candidates is equal to or less than the number of seats, the respective electoral commission requests the all-Union organ of the social organization to nominate new candidate deputies.

The nomination of candidate deputies to replace former deputies follows the procedure laid down by this law.

Article 43. The ballot paper

The ballot paper lists in alphabetical order all registered candidates for USSR people's deputy giving each candidate deputy's surname, given name, and patronymic, the office held (occupation), and the place of employment. Ballot papers are printed in the languages used by the population of the electoral okrug.

If only one candidate deputy stands for election in an electoral okrug, the ballot also contains the words "For" and "Against."

The number of candidate deputies listed on the ballot paper for elections of USSR people's deputies from one or several social organizations must be greater than the number of deputies' seats allocated to these social organizations.

VII. Guarantees Relating to the Activity of Candidates for USSR People's Deputy [subhead]

Article 44. The right of candidates for USSR people's deputy to address meetings, make use of the mass media, and obtain information

From the time of their registration by electoral commissions, candidates for USSR people's deputy have an equal right to address election campaign and other meetings, conferences, and sittings and to make use of the press, television, and radio.

State and social organs, enterprise, institution, and organization leaders, and organs of the population's independent social activity are obligated to assist candidates for USSR people's deputy in the organization of meetings with voters and members of social organizations and the supply of any necessary reference and information material.

Article 45. The election program of a candidate for USSR people's deputy

A candidate for USSR people's deputy can publish a program of his future activity. The candidate deputy's program must not be contrary to the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

Article 46. Agents of a candidate for USSR people's deputy

A candidate for USSR people's deputy can have up to 10 agents who help him in running his election campaign, campaign for his election as deputy, and represent his interests in mutual relations with state and social organs, voters, and members of social organizations and in electoral commissions.

A candidate deputy selects his agents at his own discretion and notifies their identity for registration by the okrug electoral commission or the electoral commission for elections in social organizations. Following registration, the electoral commission issues certificates to the agents.

Article 47. Pre-election campaigning

Labor collectives, voters in their place of residence, and social organizations which have nominated candidate deputies are given the right to campaign freely for their candidates.

Labor collectives, voters in their place of residence, and social organizations are given access without charge to duly equipped premises for meetings and rallies, and also access to the mass media for the purpose of their election campaigning.

Every citizen has a guaranteed right to participate in election campaigning.

Candidates for USSR people's deputy meet with their voters both at meetings and in other ways convenient for voters. Voter meetings are organized by electoral commissions in conjunction with the relevant soviet of people's deputies and social organizations.

Voters are notified beforehand of the time and venue for meetings and gatherings.

Campaigning is not allowed on election day.

Article 48. Releasing candidates for USSR people's deputy from their production or official duties for the purpose of participating in pre-election events

After registration candidates for USSR people's deputy are released from their production or official duties while retaining their average salary—to be paid out of the funds allocated for the holding of the elections—for meetings with voters and speeches at pre-election meetings, rallies, and on television and radio.

Article 49. Entitlement to free travel for candidates for USSR people's deputy

After registration candidates for USSR people's deputy are entitled to free travel on all forms of passenger transport (with the exception of taxis) within their corresponding electoral okrugs. Candidate deputies living outside their electoral okrug enjoy the same entitlement with regard to travel between the electoral okrug and their place of residence.

The procedure and payment for travel by candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations for the purpose of participating in pre-election events are determined by those organizations' all-Union organs.

Article 50. Immunity of candidates for USSR people's deputy

Candidates for USSR people's deputy cannot be indicted on a criminal charge, arrested, or subjected to administrative penalties imposed by the courts without the consent of the Central Electoral Commission.

VIII. Polling and Vote Counting Procedure [subhead]

Article 51. Time and venue for polling

In elections for USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs the polls are open from 0700 to 2000 hours local time on election day. Ward electoral commissions notify voters of the time and venue for polling not later than 10 days before the elections.

At electoral wards based on ships on voyage on election day, military units, polar stations, and Soviet establishments abroad, ward electoral commissions may declare polling closed at any time if all voters listed on the roll have voted.

In elections for USSR people's deputies from social organizations polling takes place at a congress or conference of the social organization or at a plenum of its all-Union organ. Enlarged plenums with the participation of representatives of other of these organizations' elective organs may be held. In such cases the deciding vote may be given to all plenum participants. Elections of people's deputies may also be held at combined congresses or conferences of multiple social organizations or plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 52. Organization of polling

Polling takes place on special premises, which should be equipped with a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting, clearly defined areas for issuing ballot papers, and ballot boxes. Ballot boxes are to be set up in such a fashion that voters have to approach them via the booths or rooms for secret voting.

Responsibility for the organization of polling, the safeguarding of the secrecy of the voters' choice, the fitting out of premises, and the maintenance of the necessary order in them is to be borne correspondingly by the ward electoral commission or the electoral commission of the social organization.

On election day, before polling begins, the ballot boxes are checked and sealed by the chairman of the relevant electoral commission in the presence of all members of the commission.

Every voter or participant in a congress, conference, or plenum votes in person; voting on behalf of other persons is not permitted. Ballot papers are issued by the relevant electoral commission on the basis of the electoral roll for the electoral ward, a voting entitlement certificate, or the list of voters at a congress or conference of a social organization or plenum of its all-union organ on presentation of a passport or other personal identification. The electoral roll or list of voters is marked to indicate the issuing of ballot papers. Voting entitlement certificates are attached to the supplementary list of voters.

In cases where individual voters, for reasons of health or other reasons, are unable to attend the polling station, the ward electoral commission, at their request, instructs individual members of the commission to organize balloting where these voters are. Ward electoral commissions formed at large railroad stations make provision for voting by voters who are either at the stations or on long-distance passenger trains.

Article 53. Conduct of voting

Ballot papers are completed by the voter in a secret ballot booth or room. The presence of any person other than the voter during completion of the ballot paper is prohibited. A voter who is unable to complete the ballot paper independently has the right to invite into the booth or room any other person at his own discretion, other than a member of the electoral commission.

In elections of USSR people's deputies for electoral okrugs, the voter leaves on the ballot paper the name of the candidate for whom he is voting, and strikes out the names of the other candidates. If there is only one candidate deputy on the ballot paper, the voter leaves whichever of the two words "for" and "against" expresses his attitude to the candidate deputy, and strikes out the other word.

In elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations, the voter leaves on the ballot paper the names of those candidate deputies for whom he is voting, and strikes out the names of the other candidates.

The voter drops the completed ballot paper into the ballot box.

Article 54. Counting votes in the electoral ward

In elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral districts, the counting of votes in the electoral ward is carried out separately for each electoral okrug and for each candidate deputy.

The ballot boxes are opened by the ward electoral commission in the presence of all its members after the chairman of the commission has announced that voting has finished. Opening the ballot boxes before the end of voting is prohibited. Prior to the opening of ballot boxes all unused ballot papers are counted and canceled by the ward electoral commission.

The ward electoral commission establishes from the main and supplementary lists of voters the total number of voters in the ward, as well as the number of voters who have received ballot papers. On the basis of the ballot papers found in the ballot boxes, the commission establishes for each electoral okrug (within the electoral ward in question): the total number of voters who took part in the vote; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballot papers deemed invalid. Votes for citizens whose names are added to the ballot papers by voters are not counted.

Ballot papers are deemed invalid if they are not of the prescribed format, and if, in voting, the name of more than one candidate has been left on, or the words "for" and "against" have not been struck out. If doubt arises as to the validity of a ballot paper the question is resolved by the ward electoral commission by a vote.

The results of the counting of votes are examined at a session of the ward electoral commission and recorded on a protocol drawn up separately for each electoral okrug. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and is dispatched to the relevant okrug electoral commission according to the procedure laid down by the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 55. Determining the results of elections for an electoral okrug

On the basis of the ward electoral commissions' protocols the okrug electoral commission determines: the total number of voters for the okrug; the number of voters who received ballot papers; the number of voters who took part in the ballot; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballot papers deemed invalid.

A candidate for USSR people's deputy is deemed to be elected if he receives in the elections more than one-half of the votes of voters taking part in the ballot.

The okrug electoral commission may deem the elections invalid because of violations of the present law occurring in the course of the elections or the counting of votes.

The elections are deemed void if fewer than one-half of the voters registered on the electoral roll took part, and also as a result of the death of the candidate deputy if only one candidate is registered for the okrug.

The results of elections for the electoral okrug are established at a session of the okrug electoral commission and recorded on the protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission in accordance with the procedure it has laid down.

An announcement of the results of the elections for the electoral okrug is published in the press by the relevant okrug electoral commission within the time prescribed by the Central Electoral Commission. The announcement indicates the total number of citizens on the electoral rolls; the number of voters who took part in the ballot; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate; the number of invalid ballot papers; and the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), and place of work of the elected deputy.

Article 56. The counting of votes and establishment of results of elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

The counting of votes in elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations is carried out by electoral commissions for the elections from social organizations for each candidate deputy in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the present law for ward electoral commissions.

Ballot papers not of the prescribed format are deemed invalid. If doubt arises as to the validity of a ballot paper the question is resolved by the electoral commission by a vote.

Candidates are deemed to be elected if they receive in the elections the most votes in accordance with the number of seats and more than one-half of the votes of the delegates to the congresses or conferences of social organizations or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs who took part in the ballot.

The elections are deemed void if fewer than one-half of the delegates to the congresses or conferences of social organizations or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs included on the lists of voters took part.

The election results are established at a session of the electoral commission and recorded in the protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the electoral commission and dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission according to the procedure it has laid down.

Announcements of the results of elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are published in the press by the electoral commissions for the elections from social organizations within the time prescribed by the Central Electoral Commission. The announcement indicates the number of delegates to the congress or conference of the social organization or participants in the plenum of its all-union organ who took part in the elections; the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), and place of work of each elected deputy; and the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against him.

IX. Procedure for Summing Up and Publishing the Results of Elections of USSR People's Deputies [subhead]

Article 57. Registration of USSR people's deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies, on the basis of the protocols sent to it by the electoral commissions, registers the elected USSR people's deputies.

The Central Electoral Commission may deem the elections invalid if in the course of the elections or the counting of votes or in determining the results of the elections violations of the present law took place, in which case it may refuse to register a USSR people's deputy.

Article 58. Publication of results of elections of USSR people's deputies

The Central Electoral Commission publishes an announcement of the results of the elections for the country as a whole and a list of elected USSR people's deputies in the press within 10 days, in alphabetical order, indicating the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), and place of work of the deputy and the electoral okrug or social organization from which he is elected deputy.

Article 59. Certificate and badge of a USSR people's deputy

The okrug electoral commission or electoral commission for elections from a social organization, after publication in the press of the list of USSR people's deputies registered by the Central Electoral Commission, issues each elected deputy with a certificate of election.

After ratification of the credentials of the elected deputies by the USSR congress of peoples deputies, the certificates of election that were issued to them are replaced by the certificate of a USSR people's deputy. The deputy is also issued with a "USSR People's Deputy" badge.

X. Repeat Balloting, Repeat Elections, and Elections of USSR People's Deputies To Replace Outgoing Deputies [subhead]

Article 60. Repeat balloting

If more than two candidates for USSR people's deputy ran for an electoral okrug and none of them was elected, the okrug electoral commission takes the decision to hold a repeat ballot in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the most votes. The okrug commission reports this decision to the Central Electoral Commission and informs the okrug's voters. A repeat ballot in an electoral okrug is held within not more than 2 weeks in accordance with the requirements of the present law.

A repeat ballot in elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations takes place in the event of an equal number of votes being cast for individual candidate deputies, making it impossible to determine the deputies elected. A repeat ballot between these candidate deputies is held at congresses or conferences of the social organizations or plenums of their all-union organs on the same day or on the next day in accordance with the requirements of the present law.

Article 61. Repeat elections

If no more than two candidates for USSR people's deputy ran for an electoral okrug and neither of them was elected, or the elections for the electoral okrug were deemed void or invalid, or a repeat ballot did not make it possible to determine the deputy elected, the Central Auditing Commission instructs the okrug electoral commission to hold repeat elections in the electoral okrug. It may adopt a decision on the need for the elections to be conducted by a new okrug electoral commission and ward electoral commissions. Voting takes place in the same electoral wards and on the basis of the electoral rolls compiled for the conduct of general elections.

Repeat elections are held within not more than 2 months after the general elections. The formation of electoral commissions, registration of candidate deputies, and other measures take place according to the procedure laid down by the present law.

In cases where the number of deputies elected is less than the number of seats, or where the elections from a social organization are deemed invalid, the Central Electoral Commission adopts the decision to hold repeat elections from the social organization in question. In repeat elections, the necessary number of additional deputies are elected, or all the deputies for a given social organization if the elections held earlier were deemed invalid. Here the Central Electoral Commission may instruct the same electoral commission to conduct the elections or may propose that the all-union organ of the social organization form a new electoral commission.

Article 62. Conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies to replace outgoing deputies

In the event that the USSR congress of people's deputies deems the credentials of individual USSR people's deputies to be invalid, and also in the event of the recall of a deputy or the early termination of a deputy's credentials for other reasons, new elections are held in the relevant electoral okrugs or social organizations within 3 months of the loss of the deputy. Elections are set by the Central Electoral Commission at least 2 months before the holding of the elections, and are organized in accordance with the requirements of the present law. The okrug electoral commission or the electoral commission for elections from a social organization is formed 50 days before the elections and the ward electoral commissions 1 month before the elections, and the registration of candidate deputies ends 1 month before the elections.

In the event of the loss of a USSR people's deputy less than 1 year before the expiry of the term of office of the USSR congress of people's deputies, no new USSR people's deputy is elected to replace the outgoing deputy.

Changes 'To Enhance Democracy'

LD2210100688 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—A draft law on the election of people's deputies of the USSR was circulated here today for publication in the press for it to be discussed by the whole people.

Along with the suggested amendments to the Constitution of the USSR (circulated through TASS channels on Friday), the draft law will become the basis for restructuring the country's state power system.

The principal purpose of the proposed changes is to enhance democracy through the revival of the absolute power of the soviets of people's deputies (local governing councils). The CPSU's 19th All-Union Conference (June-July 1988) put the question in the following way: Not a single state, economic or social issue may be tackled without the councils' knowledge.

A real political weight of the deputy is an indispensable condition for an upsurge in the council's activities. This is directly connected with the entire process of forming government bodies. Hence the need for a radical renewal of the Soviet electoral system.

The basic principle of a new electoral system presupposes firm guarantees of the democratic nature of elections and the competitive character of the selection of candidates. This means the right to nominate an unlimited number of candidates, a broad and free discussion of them, the inclusion of a larger number of candidates than the number of mandates, a strict observance of the electoral procedure itself, a regular accountability of deputies, and the possibility of recalling them.

The countrywide discussion of the suggested amendments to the Constitution of the USSR and the Draft Law on Elections is expected to continue for four or five weeks. Then, with due regard for comments and suggestions, the documents will be considered by the country's parliament.

Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Holds Congress

LD2210131688 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Vilnius October 22 TASS—TASS special correspondents Vladas Burbulis and Salamanos Waintraubas report:

Matters concerning the forthcoming political reform and democratisation of the life of Soviet people are under consideration at a constituent congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka.

The congress which opened in the Lithuanian capital today is being attended by more than 1,000 delegates, party and state leaders of the Baltic republic, and by numerous guests from various regions of the USSR and foreign countries. About 400 Soviet and foreign journalists are accredited to cover the congress.

The Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka is a non-formal public association which was formed in the spring of this year in the conditions of increased political activity of the masses. The movement proclaimed it as its goal to support the current process of renewal of all aspects of life in the USSR.

This was also pointed out in speeches made by delegates as well as in a speech delivered by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, who was warmly cheered by the delegates to the congress. He conveyed congratulations from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to all Lithuanian people.

"The Communist Party of Lithuania", Brazauskas said "regards the movement for perestroyka as a positive force which can effectively help forward the revolutionary changes provided for by the decisions of the 19th conference of the CPSU. The goals which the movement sets before itself—openness, stimulation of the social thought, the elimination of the hard legacy of Stalinism and of the period of stagnation, a radical improvement of the economy, and care for the environment—are correct ones in principle and we support them".

The leader of the Lithuanian Communists gave a positive appraisal of the concern shown by this public association for the protection of historical monuments and for the development of the national culture and language. At the same time he drew attention to the need to further strengthen friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, to respect the members of all nationalities who live in the territory of Lithuania and to stop any attempts at sowing discord in inter-ethnic relations.

The two-day congress is to adopt a charter and a programme of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka and to elect leading bodies.

Delegates' Comments Cited

LD2310020188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] [Igor Zorin] As we reported in this broadcast, the constituent congress of the Sajudis, the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, began in Vilnius today. Our correspondent Adolfas Paulius reports:

[Paulius] Over 1,100 delegates from various towns and regions of the republic gathered at the Palace of Sports. Leaders of the party organization and the government of Soviet Lithuania arrived for the congress. Also present are guests from fraternal republics and fellow Lithuanians from abroad. The congress is taking place in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and is being transmitted in full on Lithuanian television, with republican radio broadcasting a simultaneous translation of all broadcasts into Russian. There are about 300 Soviet and foreign journalists in the hall. The audience warmly welcomed the speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's party. An atmosphere of openness and strong emotions reigns here today. Members of the movement's action committee, established a few months ago, well-known figures of science and culture, and young people go up one by one to speak at microphones in the hall. It is noted that the main aim of the movement is to give the inhabitants of the Lithuanian SSR the opportunity to take a most active part in the process of social renewal, to help establish the true sovereignty of the people, and to promote glasnost and the democratization of public and political life.

Among those members of the action committee whom I invited to the microphone were Professors Bronius Gednzelis and Vytautas Landsbergis, and Kazimiera Prunskiene, doctor of economic sciences.

[Prunskiene] The original reason for the appearance of the movement is restructuring itself. But also, of course, the fact that it has been slowed down. Restructuring is the reason because, as democracy grew and glasnost grew, then this movement became possible.

[Unidentified male speaker] One often hears it said that the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring is a narrow nationalist movement. This is both an untruth and a misunderstanding. Lithuanians make up the majority of the population of Lithuania and, correspondingly, the majority of people in the movement are Lithuanians. But in our movement there are people of different nationalities and it is a multi-national movement.

[Prunskiene] It seems to me that Lithuanians take a more active part in the movement. This is indeed true and this is natural, because the native population, quite naturally, has more of an interest in solving many of the tasks and many of the problems that the Sajudis raises. For example, the problems of the cultural and historical plan—the nationalities' plan—concern everyone, but Lithuanians, who do not want to and are not about to leave, at the least, have an interest above all in ensuring that after our generation, not only the traces of our stay remain on earth, but something more than that.

[Paulius] You are no doubt concentrating your attention on the transfer to republican financial autonomy?

[Prunskiene] That is correct. On the whole, the concept of economic independence, or as it is said more simply, republican financial autonomy, has already been tested and is already being discussed in the republic, in three republics, and even more broadly. But this is also an initial stage, because after we said we were willing, that we had decided that we would manage the economy ourselves and conduct it, a great deal still remains to be resolved, such as the method we are to use, and here there are a fair number of problems.

[Second unidentified male speaker] The many-thousand-strong rallies have united our people and they have removed fear. But we now realize that the problems facing our people cannot be resolved at rallies. I am convinced that the time for rallies has passed. The time for painstaking work has arrived.

[Paulius] Tomorrow the Constituent Assembly of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, Sajudis, will continue its work. A general program for the movement's activity will be adopted and elections to its leading bodies will be held.

[Zorin] Yes, the restructuring, which began 3 years ago in our country, has brought to life new public movements and these movements are helping the renewal of society, real sovereignty of the people, glasnost, and the democratization of the entire life of our society. But, as was stated in the reportage, all these problems cannot be resolved at rallies alone. The professor from Lithuania was quite right when he said: The time for painstaking work has arrived. And similar movements for restructuring recently set up in Estonia and Latvia have been and are calling for precisely this.

TV Reports Congress Opening

LD2210224288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Sajudis, the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, opened today in Vilnius.

[Unidentified correspondent] It is warm and sunny here today, so the opening of the congress took place in the square in front of the Palace of Sports. Then, more than 1,100 delegates proceeded to the palace. [video shows crowds in street, band playing, delegates in the hall] Representatives of all the strata of the republic's population—Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and delegates from other nationalities—are here. They all are united by the common desire to take an active part in the acceleration of the restructuring initiated by the party. Original ideas and views, which sometimes defy routine cliches, can be heard in speeches of scientific and cultural figures or representatives of the young generation, members of the Sajudis initiative group. However, each speaker comes out for revolutionary renewal and contributes proposals aimed at the democratization of the Lithuanian SSR's economic and cultural life. The congress proceedings are being broadcast by republican television. [video shows speakers, applauding audiences]

Algirdas-Mikolas Kazevich Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee, who was elected at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held a few days ago, took part in the congress work.

[Begin Brazauskas recording] It is very pleasing and wonderful that such a social phenomenon as the movement for restructuring, which started as recently as last spring, has turned into a powerful movement, I would say, of the entire Lithuanian people. It has one purpose, a single purpose, which is common with that of the Lithuanian Communist Party and of the entire people: to make the movement radical and effective so that each resident feels the results of the movement. The number of points of contacts and common goals with the movement for restructuring is growing every day. For instance, I could cite the elaboration of a program for economic independence, or in other words, for territorial or regional financial autonomy. Certain members of the initiative group of the movement for restructuring have been a very active part in the preparation of this material, of the draft. [end recording] [video shows Brazauskas speaking to the camera outside the palace]

[Correspondent] Tomorrow the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring will continue its work. The movement's program and other documents will be adopted and elections to its governing bodies will be held.

Cathedral To Reopen for Worship

LD2210202588 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Vilnius October 22 TASS—The Constituent Congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, at an evening sitting in Vilnius, announced the Lithuanian government's decision to give a former Roman Catholic cathedral to believers.

The cathedral, built at the beginning of the 19th century by Lithuanian architect Laurinas Stuoki-Gucevicius, was turned into a picture gallery in 1956.

The former cathedral, whose interior was preserved, also hosted concerts of chamber and organ music.

On Sunday, October 23, a mass, the first in more than 30 years, will be held there.

It was announced that the mass would be served by Cardinal Vincentas Sladkiavicius, chairman of the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Lithuania and apostolic administrator of the Kaisiadorys Diocese.

Sakharov Cited on Election, Visit to U.S.

LD2110164788 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Andrey Sakharov, 67, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, will take part in a meeting of the board of directors of the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity to be held in Washington next November. This was announced at a news conference devoted to the first year of the activity of this representative international organisation.

Andrey Sakharov told journalists that the question of his going to the United States in the capacity of one of the directors of the foundation was raised by the foundation leadership and did not meet objections from Soviet authorities. According to the scientist, the problem of his travels abroad had "found a principled solution", and he could now travel "on the common principles with other Soviet citizens."

Explaining former restrictions on the possibility to travel abroad by the "secrets of 20 years ago," Academician Sakharov said that he had submitted the final solution of the question to the country's government. The physicist believed that his forthcoming visit to Washington became possible due to the positive changes in the USSR in the past few years.

On his election on Thursday into the Presidium (leading body) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Andrey Sakharov said: "The great honor accorded to me imposes responsibility and calls for energetic work in the branches of science, to which I have relation. I will try to justify the confidence of the members of the Soviet Academy." Andrey Sakharov said that 82 people out of 234 voted against him.

Sakharov on Academy Election

PM2210134588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Oct 88 p 3

[S. Panasenko report on interview with Academician A. Sakharov: "Academician A. Sakharov Now Member of USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium"]

[Text] The nine eminent scientists elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium include Academician A. Sakharov. After congratulating him, our correspondent asked how he views this event.

"The election to the presidium came as a surprise to me," Andrey Dmitriyevich replied. "It is a tremendous honor, of course. But unfortunately it is also an additional workload. I have yet to get used to the unusual nature of my new position."

[Panasenko] Do you have any special plans in connection with your election?

[Sakharov] As yet I have no plans or programs, of course. Except for the most general ones: to do everything in my power to vindicate my colleagues' trust. I hope I will be able to combine scientific activity with participation in the work of the academy's leading organ.

Obkoms Elect New First Secretaries

LD2210173588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Plenary meetings of four obkoms were held today to consider organizational matters.

A plenum of the Sumy Obkom, Ukraine, relieved Ivan Grintsov of his duties as first secretary of the obkom in view of his having been elected secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Vladimir Shevchenko was elected first secretary of the Sumy Obkom. He worked previously as chairman of the oblispolkom. Taking party in the work of the plenum was Comrade Kachura, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum of the Zaporozhye Obkom released Anatoliy Sazonov from his duties as first secretry of the obkom in connection with his transfer to another post. Grigoriy Kharchenko, who worked previously as deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Zaporozhye Obkom. Participating in the work of the plenum was Comrade Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

A plenum of the Fergana Obkom, Uzbekistan, relieved Khamdam Umarov of his duties as first secretary of the obkom in view of his retirement on pension. Shavkat Yuldashev was elected first secretary of the Fergana Obkom. He worked previously as second secretary of the Syr-Darya Obkom. Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party, spoke at the plenum.

A plenum of the Bukhara Obkom, Uzbekistan, relieved Ismail Dzhabbarov of his duties as first secretary of the obkom on the grounds that he had compromised himself. Damir Yadgarov, who worked previously as chairman of the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, was elected first secretary of the Bukhara Obkom. Participating in the work of the plenum was Comrade Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum of the Pavlodar Obkom released Petr Yerpilov from his duties as first secretary in connection with his retirement. Yuriy Meshcheryakov, who worked previously as secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Pavlodar Obkom. Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

At a plenum of the Issyk-Kul Obkom—for the Issyk-Kul and Naryn regions—of the Kirgiz Communist Party, Dzhumgalbek Amanbayev was elected first secretary of the obkom. He worked previously as secretary of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Economic

Decree Allows Enterprises To Issue Shares

LD2110201688 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a decree "On the issuing of securities by enterprises and organisations." It gives Soviet enterprises the right to issue shares. First Deputy Chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank Vaerlian Kulikov comments on this document in today's issue of the newspaper "SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA".

Kulikov said that the decree envisages the issuing of two kinds of securities—shares of a work collective and shares of an enterprise. The first kind of securities will be issued on the decision of the collective of persons employed by a given enterprise. The volume of dividends will also be decided by a general meeting. Only a worker of the given enterprise will be able to purchase these shares, and the sum shares are worth cannot be more than his 20 monthly wages. But the sum is not to surpass ten thousand roubles. The total value of the issued shares of this kind is not to surpass 30 per cent of the sum of the fixed assets and current assets. As to the participation in managing the enterprise, as distinct from the western model, the right of shareholders and non-shareholders will be absolutely equal, otherwise democratic principles would be damaged. The incomes, naturally, will be different.

In this way it will be possible to combine the interests of an enterprise with the interests of workers, holds the first deputy chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank. The funds obtained by the sales of shares of a work collective will be invested in production.

The second kind of shares, shares of an enterprise, can be issued to a sum not over half of the volume of fixed assets and current assets. Other enterprises and cooperative organisations have a right to buy these securities on money from the fund of the development of production. Such shares can be issued also by commercial banks.

It is supposed that the issuing of securities can become a good additional method of drawing considerable funds into production, Kulikov said in conclusion. Enterprises and their collectives should use these funds most effectively to the best advantage of the country's economy.

Deputy Finance Minister Discusses Securities

LD2210040788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The issue of securities by Soviet enterprises and organizations will mark a stage in the further improvement of the economic mechanism in our country. Our correspondent talks to Vyacheslav Konstantinovich Senchagov, USSR deputy finance minister.

[Khatayevich, correspondent, identified by caption] Vyacheslav Konstantinovich, what is changed in our economic mechanism by the issue of these shares and the creation of a market in what we now call securities? [video shows 50 rouble shares stamped "sample"]

[Senchagov] Well, quite a lot is changed in our economic mechanism. First of all, a new form of utilization of the monetary savings of the population is emerging. We used to accumulate these monetary savings of the population only in deposits in insurance policies. Today any worker can, at his enterprise, with his accumulated savings, buy shares and receive dividends on these shares. The better the enterprise works, the higher its profit and cost-effectiveness, the more opportunity there is on the whole to obtain income from distribution. This is perhaps one of the main points.

[Khatayevich] That is one type of share.

[Senchagov] That is one type of share, that is the share of the working collective. But the shares of the enterprises fulfil a broader function. They complement the system,

the present-day system of financing of capital investments, their centralized control. It means a more flexible system. The system's flexibility consists in this: If an enterprise lacks the funds for technical reequipment and reconstruction, it has the option to purchase the shares of another enterprise. In this way, it joins in the active process of decision-making, not only at home but also in the associated enterprise. It also obtains a share of its income.

[Khatayevich] And invests it in its own plant.

[Senchagov] And invests it in its own plant.

[Khatayevich] Who is the allocator in this process, who gives permission for the issue of the shares?

[Senchagov] The main role here of course belongs to the working collective for the shares of the working collective. The board of directors has the deciding word in determining the issue of shares of the enterprise. And the functions of permission, as it were, the functions of finance and banking supervision, are fulfilled by the banking bodies and the Ministry of Finance.

[Khatayevich] What is the role of securities in the process of the deepening of the economic reform?

[Senchagov] Now it is difficult to quantitatively assess the effect, but perhaps it is quantitative because additional resources are drawn actively into circulation and are an additional source of financing technical reequipment and reconstruction and the creation of the material-technical base and social sphere at the enterprise. So this should play a very important role both for the individual enterprise and for all enterprises.

But I think that if the process is actively developed—I only say if for the simple reason that it is a voluntary process; each makes an autonomous decision, each has right of choice, there is no directive mechanism—if it develops, we can essentially regard it as a stage in the formation of socialist, socialist, I emphasize, socialist-...[Senchagov changes thought] We are moving away from the slogan-like posing of the question to a concrete, working one.

Abalkin Reviews Economic Developments

LD2110074688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1620 GMT on 17 October carries a 35-minute program entitled: "All-Union School of Young Economic Scientists." The program is produced by the Central Television Main Propaganda Editorial Office in collaboration with the Makhachkala television studio, and focuses on a meeting between Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, and the participants in the All-Union School of Young Economic Scientists. The meeting is held at the Dagestan Council of Ministers and is organized by the VLKSM Central Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, the Dagestan Oblast Komsomol Committee, and the Economics Department of the Dagestan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The program does not specify when the meeting took place.

The participants in the meeting, which was held under the motto "the 19th party conference and topical problems of economic science," visited a number of local enterprises, as well as hearing lectures. Abalkin's activities, apart from the meeting covered by the program, included a round-table discussion on republican television and participation in a party-economic aktiv meeting at the obkom.

At the meeting with young economists Abalkin answers questions submitted to him in writing or asked directly from the floor. He begins with a written question, asking: "Where do you see the main principles of the difficulties of implementing economic reform? Can we speak of the reform slipping?"

Abalkin answers: "The difficulty consists in the following. There are several reasons here. The first is that we are implementing the reform while retaining the 5- year plan adopted long before it, on prereform principles. And we decided not to change it. That was probably not the best solution but it has become reality. This complicates the process.

"The second reason is connected with the fact that the reform is being implemented piecemeal, bit by bit. We are beginning to transfer enterprises to full financial autonomy and self-financing without having implemented reforms of prices, of the financial and credits system, and without transferring the enterprises to wholesale trade. This too creates contradictions in combining components of the new and the old.

"Thus to a certain extent the reasons for the complications are objective in their nature, although they are also coming up against quite strong resistance from two sides—from above and from below. From administrative bodies—and much fine writing is done about this—it's a good subject for journalists, bureaucrats. This issue exists but it is less important, less dangerous than the resistance from below, the unwillingness to change anything, the habitual labor conditions, the intensity level. Even an increase, a visible increase in wages does not work as an incentive because you have to restructure your habitual working rythm, change your attitude to your work, radically raise labor intensity. Many researchers from our institute, including young ones—you can ask them about it in detail—attempted especially to analyze these strata, including those below, within the working class, the peasantry, that want to keep everything the way it was. They are not against getting paid more or against things getting better on the market but they don't want anything changed. And we found a very intersting professional-qualificational and social

cross-section in that analysis. Perhaps the main thing here is that this is a far from simple problem because here nothing can be changed radically, quickly, and simply."

Abalkin reads the next question: "What is your attitude to the principles of regional self-management which are worked out by economic scientists of the Estonian SSR?"

He answers: "We have to distinguish between two processes. The objective side of the process consists in the fact that regional peculiarities, including the national and state peculiarities that exist in the country, leave their imprint both on the system of production relations and on the management mechanism, and they have to be taken into consideration. The tendency toward the development of territorial financial autonomy is an objective tendency which is making its way at every level. And it will make its way. And consequently this is producing positive feelings and attitudes—the work which is being done by the scientists of the Estonian SSR—in particular because they adopted a mandate for the delegates to the 19th party conference which was presented to the conference presidium."

Abalkin continues: "And then there are the specific proposals as to how to realize this idea. Should an independent system of prices be introduced or not, should the republic have the right to establish taxes, abolish them, and so on. Might it not turn out here that instead of ministerial bureaucracy we will get regionalist bureaucracy, and an even worse version of a command system than from the center? And the enterprises will turn out to be totally defenseless in insisting on their rights, which we made the starting point. Is it possible under the operating legal norm—when financially-autonomous income remains at the disposal of the enterprise with no one having the right to take it away—to entitle a republic to lay down the amount of deductions from the enterprises' profits for the budget? There's a big question. Consequently, the specific solutions and norms which are being proposed in Estonia are giving rise to a whole number of critical questions, but that does not apply to the (?idea) itself. The movement in that direction is unavoidable and irreversible. And the specific mechanisms have to be decided, while overcoming the frequently extremist feelings on that account."

Question: "What can you say about the dependence of our recently begun restructuring and the fall in the world gas and oil prices?"

Abalkin: "Well, I have often spoken about this, including in my speech yesterday. It has, of course, hit us very badly, this fall in prices over 2 years. As a result, USSR trade turnover at current prices has fallen by 10 percent over 2 years, and 1987 goods turnover was down by 14 billion [currency not specified] on 1985. This very seriously complicated our situation. Since this year the volume of goods turnover has gone up, in a positive direction, although so far it has not yet made up for the losses of 1986."

A young man from the audience asks: "From the political point of view, why do we not want to clarify the theoretical definition of the era which we regard as socialism, the era of absolute state ownership? After all, this question is a stumbling block in the theory, and furthermore it creates confusion in people's minds. My question is based on much thought about the development of socialism from utopia to science, to the economic problems of Stalin's socialism. I would like, well, to hear your point of view."

Abalkin: "My point of view is that it is not that we are afraid of answering this question or avoiding it; it is that today we don't have the answer to that question. Science has not provided it. It is not a question of whether we want to answer it or not. We are not clear. Any journalist can express his attitude to this issue and call it what you like, barrack socialism, if you like, feudal socialism, if you like. But I cannot. Because my answer has to result from a study of that issue, which requires many years. After all, I did ask you earlier whether the process could be considered complete. Tell me, are the criteria for the completion of the construction of socialism abstract in time or do they depend on time, and are they historically variable? Do we not today apply stricter and higher criteria for the completion of its construction than we used to, not only in the thirties but perhaps even in the twenties? I think that that is a completely natural process. There is a nice expression, it is not my expression but it is very nice: The notions of socialism are a function of time. They change, they are variable. If they did not change they would apply to religions, as something formulated once and not subject to subsequent changes. But if we are dealing with science it is always in motion, it amplifies something in its conclusions and so on, we perceive many things differently. Therefore the question needs research, very fine research, especially seeing as the process was far from unequivocal about what did take place, what didn't take place, what has been resolved, what hasn't.

"The peculiarity of the scientific approach lies in the fact that you must not say the first thing that comes to mind; you have to think these things through very seriously. We are thinking of getting down to this. We are researching it. I recently had a discussion: we are establishing a council of the Academy of Sciences and the Goskomobraz [State Committee for Public Education], a joint, combined council on issues of history, the history of economic teaching, and the history of the national economy. And we have to go through heaps of literature and data, and only then can we come close to an assessment of the events. And without all that it's journalism, not science. And I have to be responsible for my words. I have no final view. I am not prepared to say today. I can

see a whole number of problems that have to be studied, but until they have been studied there is no answer. But I told you at the beginning that a scientist is someone who doesn't know something. If you already know everything and the only question before you is whether or not you are brave enough to say it that's an entirely different area."

Question: "The party positions and the historical approach with respect to ownership are unequivocal—public. But the worker does not feel that. As a matter of fact he is the same hired laborer as under the capitalist mode of production. What is proposed to change the existing situation in this area?"

Answer: "We consider that ownership is a multilevel relation. It has a great many layers and forms. We consider that state ownership is one of the forms, and presumably a derivative form, of ownership. Side by side with it there exist secondary derivative forms, including regional and municipal varieties. Among our first approaches to this we have managed to create a new textbook on political economy. We are obliged to research and publish the results of the first stage of research into this problem, including the entire structure of the system of relations of ownership."

Question: "Does the manner in which people are accepted for postgraduate study come up to the present-day requirements, especially in view of the fact that much emphasis is laid on memory and ability to reproduce (?raw) information—definitions, events, facts, figures—rather than on an ability to think independently, in nonstandard ways, which is vital for the scientist?"

Abalkin: "Well, what do you think I am going to answer to the question of whether such a way comes up to present-day requirements? What do you think I am going to say? It does not.

"How it is to be changed? Changing it is very complicated, because you have to change those who established this. And because of this way they are in the saddle, because they remember all these events, facts, figures, examples and they nag at you and grill you, they are on top: How can you not know that? There. While with the new approach, if you are proposing independence of thought, in order to appraise that independence they need some other abilities. It is a very complex process. A change of generations is taking place, people are coming to replace them but they are not very keen on being replaced. That happens everywhere and, as far as I have been able to find out in conversations, it is also true in Dagestan. They do not want to leave. Perhaps it is simpler to do what we are planning—to establish large pensions and pay for them to leave rather than keep them. There is a saying that to have a battleworthy army you should not begrudge the money for general's pensions. Well, I gather from your reactions that you have understood my hint."

Abalkin goes on to answer questions on present-day economic articles by journalists and the study of some Soviet and foreign economists who have not been studied until now. The Ekonomika Publishers are to start bringing out a new series of works, some of which have not been published for about 50 years.

He then reads out another question: "In your speech yesterday you said that a market economy can be efficient with full employment, without unemployment, but there has to be competition. Could you explain, please, how in conditions of a market-based economy you can do without a reserve of one of the main resources, a reserve of manpower?

"Well, yesterday, right there at the aktiv meeting I got a note asking whether it is possible to have an efficient economy without two components—competition and unemployment. I said that there cannot be an efficient economy without competition or economy rivalry, the name doesn't matter, that history is a scientific result of the study of world practice, both domestic and foreign. There can be no efficient economy which is deprived of a driving competitive basis. And I think that that was clear at least 100 years ago.

"But I objected with respect to unemployment. My view is that it is possible to do without unemployment; such a price must not be paid. And I cannot remember exactly what I did or did not describe, but I spoke about a unique model which, although probably from a different approach, has provided an answer to this question. It is the Swedish model, about which, by the way, the KOMSOMOLKA [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] wrote a lot in August: four pieces based on a visit by a special group which went there on the basis of a Central Committee decision.

"Then I asked about unemployment. Do you not think that a little unemployment, a teeny-weeny bit, promotes the strengthening of labor discipline, high efficiency, organization of the working class? In response I was read a lecture that socialism and unemployment are incompatible, that the Swedish social-democracy does not accept such a conception, that any amount of unemployment leads to a moral degradation of the society, a suppression of personal liberties, initiative, independence. I was read a lecture in response.

"But you try solving this. Of course the conditions are incomparable, not only scalewise but also because Sweden has not been taking part in wars since the time Napoleon's army was defeated, it hasn't taken part in a single war, it's had no destruction. But we have to take a wide view of these things, with open eyes. We have to try and find [sentence as heard]. To admit unemployment as a rule means to admit our impotence."

Question: "In your view, what is more dangerous for the future of the restructuring—direct opposition to it or artful imitation?"

Abalkin: "The thesis was once formulated that the greatest danger is the one which is underestimated and against which you stop struggling. To make one danger into the main one without noticing another is always dangerous. There is much, of course, that threatens the restructuring, including direct opposition, but I doubt that direct opposition, the proposal of a counterrestructuring program, the unification of some group of forces which come together in order to oppose it, is possible. That's hardly likely."

Question: "What do we do about the principle of guaranteed pay in our country, when in an enterprise working according to model two, the remaining profits are not enough to pay even the standard rate? At the moment, that is what the loans generally go towards."

Abalkin: "Changing over to model two is a voluntary thing. The collective has the right to choose. And in transferring to it it accepts all the conveniences and inconveniences of the model. This model, on the one hand, lifts the roof of income growth, it lifts the roof, but on the other hand it also eliminates the guaranteed minimum. Well, if you want it you try it. Risk is a noble thing. But if you haven't made enough, well, I am sorry, it's what you wanted yourselves. What kind of risk is it if you have a guaranteed income? That's not it, that's not what we need. But you have to choose that yourselves, you have to resolve the question whether to change over or not. Every system should have sufficient, clear, and precise feedback."

Question: "Could you assess the new temporary provisions for state orders adopted this June?"

Abalkin: "I think that it represents half a step forward as compared to the existing practice, but it retains the order in the main as a component of the administrative system. I may as well tell (?everyone) that the position of economic scientists was quite unanimous. It was presented at the session of the Council of Ministers Presidium which adopted the decision, but our proposals were not accepted. I think that soon, when it starts being applied, it is going to bring forth a great wave of criticism from two sides."

A middle-aged man from the audience asks: "A Japanese scientist was asked whether we could catch up with the leading, developed capitalist countries. The answer was that we have fallen behind for ever. I would like to hear you opinion on this."

Abalkin: "The lag is indeed quite substantial, it is quite substantial. Unfortunately, recently it has been getting greater. A very precise measure is the number of years of the lag, that is how many years we shall need to have what they have today, the measurement of the degree of overcoming the lag in years. It shows the dynamics of the process, the scale of the lag and indeed focuses on some priority directions."

Answering some questions on cooperatives, Abalkin says that the turning toward cooperatives was a "rebirth of a Leninist idea." Replying to misgivings that the development of cooperatives carries the "threat of the formation of a prosperous or perhaps even a fairly rich social layer in our country," he notes that he "would very much like to see prosperous Soviet citizens. We very much need them."

He is asked: "What is your attitude to the informal societies and political movements in support of restructuring, or the direction of the structure of the sociopolitical field?"

Abalkin: "I am an economist, ask me about economics, not about informal associations.

"If there is no restructuring within the CPSU and if within the CPSU there is no possibility to express one's view freely, defend it and argue for it, prepare and propose alternative variants, choose leaders from several candidates by looking for the optimal one and so on, if within the CPSU, with its role, its magnitude, everything, we do not democratize this process, no informal associations are going to help us, they won't help us. That's the key to success. After all, the informal associations are the icing but not the cake in the system. And if we don't do it they won't help us and they won't save us. How can they vie with a party of 20 million?"

Question: "What is your opinion about the organization of wholesale trade? Is the time-scale of 4-5 years, at present set by the government, realistic? What are we basing this time-scale on?"

Abalkin: "Well, first of all we are basing it on the fact that we are not going to make it by the end of this 5-Year Plan, we won't solve it, and there is no need to deceive people by telling them that we will make it by the end of this 5-Year Plan. Much is going to depend on how the 13th 5-Year Plan is formulated, because wholesale trade is not the main component. By itself it cannot change anything under the old planning system, under the system of trying to include in the plan itself disproportions in the economy. It won't be able to compensate for anything. Therefore, a transfer to a new 5-Year Plan, its principally new model, and accumulation of experience over several years could make it possible to complete this process sometime by 1992-3, but with much persistent work."

Question: "Through price increases a process of disappearance of inexpensive goods is taking place. Is the state going to take any steps to increase the output of cheap goods?"

Abalkin: "It is and it already does adopt the old, familiar administrative and command measures in order to force enterprises to produce loss-making goods by using the stick. Obviously this system can never be efficient. And as long as the orientation toward gross output and

volume remains, cheap ranges are going to decrease automatically. These things are incompatible. You cannot go on climbing up in volume and maintain the cheap range. You have to choose."

Question: "In your opinion, what should the future of the ministries be in conditions of changing over to economic management methods?"

Abalkin: "The ministries should be of a fundamentally new type, or rather they should not be ministries but associations of various kinds for fulfilling joint functions. Intuitively this idea was expressed at the party conference by Kabaidze. He put it in a crude, grotesque form that if the ministry did not catch mice he didn't need it. After all, it should fulfill some function. It should, for example, know the market better, provide information for you, or provide for the sale of your goods, or vice-versa, provide you with material and technical supplies."

Question: "How are we to understand the state based on law?"

Abalkin: "The most important thing that I can say, and which I think has not been understood yet, is that it should be understood as a component of a civil society and not as some separate, isolated formation. It's a concept from the classics, it's from Marx, the civil society with all its system of relations and so on. After all, you can pursue different kinds of logic. You can sit in Moscow, think up laws and impose these laws on the society. And you can formulate the laws and norms on the basis of the development tendencies of the civil society, that is the real base of all legal norms. After all, they should reflect some objective reality, historical experience, traditions, and much else, interethnic, interpersonal, family, and other relations, moral norms which can never be fully regulated by the state based on law. The most important thing in the issue of the state based on law is not more and more laws but the understanding of the state based on law itself: not, I repeat, as an autonomous system but as a component of a civil society."

The next question Abalkin deals with concerns staffing changes in the VOPROSY EKONOMIKI magazine which include time limits for members of the editorial board, to prevent them serving there for 25-26 years.

Question: "What in your view are the criteria of socialism?"

Abalkin: "Well, I can ask you the following: If the food problem has not been solved has socialism been built? If there is still no state based on law, as it turned out, and there never was, have the transformations in the superstructure necessary for the building of socialism been completed? I am not even mentioning the solution of the housing problem, which is either a problem that has to be solved for society to acquire the characteristics of a socialist system or is an immanent quality, just like disproportions and everything else."

Question: "The clock of restructuring the economic mechanism was set in motion in April 1985. What positive aspects do we have today?"

Abalkin: "Having clocked up 2 years this clock has ended up in [as heard] the acceptance of an integral, developed, agreed component- and time-wise conception for the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Never before, and I maintain this, neither in 1965 nor before, all the way back to NEP, when starting in-depth changes in the economy, have we had such a developed theoretical basis of this process." He goes on to recall the stages of implementation of the NEP.

He concludes: "The second question in this note says 'What is to be done?' I know two works with this title, by Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevskiy and by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. I can recommend them both." The audience reacts with applause.

Scientific

Final Preparations for 'Energiya' Test Launch

LD2310150388 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The preparation for a test launch of a universal rocket space transport system, Energiya, consisting of a new powerful booster rocket and an orbital reusable spacecraft Buran, is being finalised at Baykonur Cosmodrome.

The on-board systems and equipment of the booster rocket and the orbiter are being checked now in accordance with the preparation schedule.

TV Carries Report on Rocket

LD2410001888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent S. Slipchenko, identified by screen caption]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted; video shows Slipchenko standing close to the Gagarin launching pad at the Baykonur Cosmodrome, then moves to an Energiya rocket on the launch pad, on which is mounted the Buran shuttle] At the cosmodrome it isn't customary to speak about what isn't ready yet. But now, finally, the day has dawned when we will for the first time tell you about flight design tests on a fundamentally new space system. I stress: This is an account of the testing of the new system. You are looking at the Energiya carrier rocket and the reusable spacecraft Buran. They have been on the launching pad for only a few days, and in this time hundreds of people from dozens of towns in the country have already begun working here. Now integral tests are

under way. That's what it's called in the technical documentation. But in the laboratories and workshops they say: We're waiting for the vehicle to start breathing. From the thought, from the lines on the drawing board, to the machine in metal, to its breathing, took about 10 years. And we took these pictures quite recently, when the whole all-purpose space rocket transport system had been assembled into a single package. Perhaps it is only here, in the assembly fueling building, that you can get up close to this assemblage and even try and look into the pilot's cabin. [video shows shuttle horizontal, still mounted on the Energiya rocket, inside a building; scientists inspecting the assemblage; video moves to rocket and the shuttle being driven out of the building, still horizontal, on a large railway carriage]

It is from here that the whole system is driven out onto the launching pad, and at the moment of launch a mass of about 2,300 tonnes will tear itself free from the earth. The four diesel locomotives, 1,000 horsepower each, seem like toys beside the erector. While it was being driven out there were no more than 100 people around, but more than 1,000 factories, design bureaus, and institutes have worked on the program—all of the republics, the whole country. Even from space, from orbit, you can see this assemblage. The road to the launching pad is well known; they have practiced this operation on models, the people have studied and trained, they have checked the machinery. Early this morning they began to take out the Energiya carrier rocket, with the Buran orbital craft attached, to the launching pad. It's already dusk now at the Baykonur Cosmodrome, and an enormous bright patch has been lit up here on the steppe. It's never night here; it will always be daylight at this launching position, because 24 hours a day it will be light, the launching position will be illuminated, and 24 hours a day work will be under way. [video shows helicopter flying over the assemblage, shots of Energiya and Buran standing vertical on the launching pad in daylight and at dusk]